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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this document is to perform a comprehensive examination of the controversies and contradictions surrounding the issue of crime and the elderly, based on analysis of National Crime Survey data for 1973-1980. Chapter 1 introduces the study of crime and the elderly, describing the controversy that exists regarding the elderly and their liklihood of being victimized by crime in the United States. The second chapter describes such criminal victimization of the elderly, including issues surrounding its study, the types of crimes committed, patterns of victimization, ages involved, sex and race of victims, and circumstances surrounding the crimes. Chapter 3 describes the economic, physical, psychological, and social consequences of crimes against the elderly. Chapter 4 addresses the fear of crime maintained by the elderly. Programs to assist the elderly in reducing unreasonable fear of crime, preventing crime, and coping with crime are the subjects of Chapter 5. Chapter 6 addresses elderly criminals, considering who they are, what crimes they commit, why they commit them, and how they fare in prison. The last two chapters provide research, policy, and program recommendations. An appendix includes 16 figures and 25 data tables. (CML)

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CRIME AND THE ELDERLY

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CRIME AND THE ELDERLY

A Report of the Crime Task Force
to the

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE CENTER ON GERONTOLOGY

at the
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International Exchange Center on Gerontology: The Organization and Its Mission

The International Exchange Center on Gerontology (IECG) is a consortium of ten public and private university centers on aging in Florida, based at the University of South Florida in Tampa. The underlying purpose of the IECG is to make available to policy makers, administrators, and practitioners the best information from domestic and international sources about effective and innovative programs for the elderly. The joint resources of the ten universities and the prominent position of Florida, with its large proportion of older persons, provide a unique opportunity for leadership in academic and policy-making activities in gerontology. As a base for collecting, analyzing, and disseminating information on vital policies and programs concerning the elderly, the IECG can be of service to Florida's political and administrative leadership. It is designed to be an active link between universities, state and local governments, and other organizations.

An Introduction to the Study of Crime and the Elderly

Questions and fears regarding the scope and impact of criminal activity have been in the forefront of public consciousness in the United States for more than two decades. Indeed, since the tumultuous decade of the 1960s, public opinion polls have consistently documented that the Amnerican public perceives crime to be an urgent social problem.[1] For example, in 1969, opinion polls revealed that the public ranked crime as the most serious problem facing American society — above the Viet Nam War, inflation and race relations.[2]

This national anxiety concerning crime continued through the 1970s and into the 1980s. Such intense public preoccupation with crime had been the catalyst for extensive Congressional hearings dealing with crime and the problems it creates. In addition, it has provided the impetus for both rhetoric and activity by candidates and public officials at the national, state and local levels. In trying to deal with these problems, Congress and the Federal Executive, state legislatures and governors, and local authorities have enacted a multitude of executive orders, acts, and ordinances in an attempt to stem the "rising tide" of crime perceived by the public.

At the national level, several special commmissions have been assembled with mandates to examine various problems concerning the origins, extent, and effects of crime and to make recommendations about possible courses of action.[3] In addition, a section of the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1968 created the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The legislation provided for massive funding, through LEAA, of technical assistance programs for state and local law enforcement agencies. More importantly, the LEAA sponsored, at an unprecedented rate, large scale and enormously expensive research about crime and its effects. Its objective was to gain a better understanding of the problems of crime, the law enforcement community, and the entire criminal justice system. In addition, the agency would use this knowledge to make recommendations to policymakers and to provide funding for improvements in the criminal justice apparatus.

An additional concern should be noted — the emergence and growth of the "victim issue." Amidst the national preoccupation with crime, more attention was focused on crime *victims*. Increasingly it was argued that it was time to reverse the trend of emphasizing the rights of criminals to those of victims.[4] One theme repeatedly stated was that if government could not protect members of society from crime, then it should help those who were victimized. Thus, the concern for victims in time became expressed by programs undertaken by law enforcement officials and concerned citizens. While the apprehension of criminals is still the major objective of law enforcement, the concern for victims is being programmed in an increasing number of locations in the United States.

The Emergence of Crime Against the Elderly as a Social Issue

In this social environment, the question of the effects of crimes against the elderly captured the attention of gerontologists and other social service professionals concerned with the welfare of the aged. Politicians joined in as well. It was concern for the general welfare of the elderly that prompted the formation of the Special Committee on Aging of the U.S. Senate and provided the impetus for the 1961, 1971, and 1981 White House Conferences on Aging which dealt with the problems of the elderly. The 1971 White House Conference focused national attention on the issue of crime and the elderly; one of its "final" conclusions was that "police protection of the elderly should become a top priority."[5] Another conclusion was that the elderly were particularly likely to be victimized in three ways: (1) by violent assaults committed by teenagers, (2) by crimes of theft, both personal (e.g., robbery) and household (e.g., burglary), and (3) by confidence games (e.g., pigeon drops and other fraudulent schemes such as inducing elderly persons to make phony investments). The most important and dramatic conclusion was that the elderly were more likely to be criminally victimized than any other age group. Indeed, Senator Harrison Williams (who was himself later convicted of a felony in the ABSCAM scandal) argued during the Senate Committee hearings:

> *It is readily apparent, I think, that the elderly are especially vulnerable to crime. It is easier to knock down an older person and take his money than it is to do the same to a younger person and it is easier to cause more extensive injuries.*[6]

Additional testimony by other experts and politicians reached their conclusions on the basis of individual cases and not representative scientific evidence. Conferences such as these, involving key politicians and human service professionals, serve to stimulate the interest of scholars, to generate funds for victimization research, and heighten awareness and knowledgeability of this important issue.

The many accounts presented at these national forums of elderly persons being criminally attacked were disturbing; and many politicians were undoubtedly sincere in their desire to end such victimization. At the same time, however, criminal victimization of the elderly was a particularly good issue for politicians to espouse. There were several reasons for this advocacy. First, legislative initiatives might result in votes from the elderly, a segment of the population which votes in greater proportion to other age groups. Although it is unclear whether elderly voters actually consistently choose candidates as a bloc,[7] a good issue such as victimization of the elderly may result in a "bloc effect." Second, the issue had no opposition, allowing a politician to speak on it and support preventive and treatment programs without automatically jeopardizing his or her popularity among other groups. Third, the issue was a safe one for politicians, because they were not directly to blame for its genesis.

As one official of the Administration on Aging explained:

> *Criminal victimization of the elderly is the kind of issue that lends itself to Congressmen's railings. They can really pound away at it and show their constituents how much they care but don't have to take blame for it. It's the individual policemen and police departments that must solve the problems.*[8]

Politicians were not alone in formulating the issue and sensitizing the public to the growing incidence of victimization of the elderly. The mass media gave few areas of criminality more attention, or more dramatic portrayal, than their coverage of the plight of aged Americans resulting from crime. The media presented accounts of older Americans whose lives were filled with terror because of crime. These aged citizens were shown to be the victims of muggings, gang harrassment, purse snatchings, burglary, swindles and confidence games, and even homicide. For example, one dramatic story concerned an elderly immigrant couple — Hans and Emma Kabel. The Kabels, after being robbed twice and assaulted once, committed suicide because they could not bear to face another day of fear.[9]

Another heartrending story widely reported by the media concerned "Mary":

> *Mary was 75 years old and, after being mugged, never left her apartment. She was so frightened that she did not even carry out the garbage which accumulated day-by-day, month-by-month. Systematically, each room in her apartment was filled with garbage and then sealed. Mary did not go out for food; she tossed money out of the window to children who bought her candy bars. Even the children abused her by over-charging for the candy. One day Mary let down her guard and went out to mail a letter. She was mugged again. It was only then that the police learned about her plight.*[10]

As might be expected, such tales evoked strong reactions among the general public. The news media had covered the topic of elderly victims of crime quite extensively and continuously. During the 1970s, however, their coverage increased dramatically — creating the illusion of a crime wave against the elderly. For example, a content analysis of articles in the *New York Times* found only one story detailing a crime against an elderly person in 1970. By 1973, however, thirty-three such stories were counted. For 1974, the number rose even more dramatically to ninety-five![11] While there was an increase in the number of stories, this did not correspond to an actual increase in crimes committed against the elderly. Rather, the increase in coverage appeared to be due to the newspapers' recognition that the issue had become of public interest. (It is well documented that the mass media can help "create" a social problem.)[12] So compelling was the public reaction to these stories that in a few short years the victimization problems of the elderly came to be regarded as of pressing importance — indeed, even as a crisis. Moreover, media publicity led to extensive Congressional hearings which focused specifically on the problems of crime and the elderly.[13] It also produced special programs

for action against these problems and provided the impetus for research aimed specifically at discovering the impact of crime upon the elderly.

Of all these conferences, one deserves special comment — the National Conference on Crimes Against the Elderly. It convened June 5-7, 1975, in Washington, D.C. and its purpose was to serve as a forum for bringing together current thinking on the issue of criminal victimization of the elderly. Officials, practitioners, and scholars delivered more than twenty-four addresses, sixteen of which were later published in the 1976 book *Crime and the Elderly*, edited by J. Goldsmith. The majority of speakers *assumed* that a special crime problem existed for the elderly. They did not attempt to define whether the elderly's crime problem was actually distinctively different from that of other age groups. Only two of the twenty-four presentations reported results of studies which made comparisons of the problems of the elderly to those of other age groups; eight reported results of studies which sampled *only* elderly persons. An additional eight studies were descriptive accounts of crime programs for the elderly, while six were theoretical reflections about the special crime problems of the elderly.[14]

The net effect of these presentations was an image of the elderly as a unique and distinctive group of crime victims. In the words of Senator Harrison Williams in his address to the conference, which received considerable attention in the press: "The conclusion is inevitable — criminals are deliberately seeking out seniors as prime victims for robbery and attack." Williams' further comments that millions of elderly Americans "now live under a form of house arrest because of their vulnerability to criminals" was also widely quoted in the news media. Widespread reference was made to Carl Cunningham's (Director of the Conference) comment that the nation was well into a "crisis situation" respecting the criminal victimization of the elderly.[15]

In 1975 two other well-publicized sources documented the serious criminal victimization problems of the elderly. The first was the "Victimization of the Elderly" chapter in Robert Butler's *Why Survive? Being Old in America*. Butler, who later became director of the National Institute on Aging, and who had won a Pulitzer Prize for this book, stated bluntly without citing relevant evidence: "Old people are the victims of violent crime more than any other age group."[16] The second, was the release of a Harris Poll undertaken for the National Council on Aging. According to the survey data, 23 percent of adults 65 and over reported fear of crime to be a major social problem. Indeed, a higher percentage rated crime as a "very serious" problem than rated ill health, loneliness or lack of sufficient money.[17]

By the end of 1975, with only a few dissenting voices, a picture of the elderly as an especially vulnerable and victimized group was emerging. The profile of the problem had four key elements:

(1) The elderly are more likely than any other age groups to be victims of crime.

(2) The elderly suffer more severe consequences — physically, economically, psychologically, and socially — from criminal victimization.

(3) The elderly are more fearful of crimes than other age groups.
(4) Fear of crime is causing elderly persons to imprison themselves in their homes.

Media coverage of elderly victims, with its appeal to "common sense" ideas about the vulnerability of elderly victims, continued to reinforce this profile. Illustrations of this simplistic view were stories in two major weekly news magazines in 1976 and 1977. *Newsweek* carried a story entitled "Crib Jobs." Crimes against the elderly are called "crib jobs" in street slang because they are like taking candy from a baby. In *Time*, the story was called "The Elderly: Prisoners of Fear." It concluded that because of their fear of crime, "old people — black and white alike — live like prisoners." In both accounts, the most frequent attackers of the elderly were juveniles.[18]

Dan Rather, then a reporter on the CBS evening news, contributed to this victimization imagery on national television in a featured story on February 28, 1976. Local television and radio programs nurtured this theme in their presentations. The notion that the elderly are prime targets of criminals, and their fear of this crime imprisons them in their homes began to be accepted unquestioningly by an increasing number of citizens.

Does such a belief present an accurate picture of the elderly and their situation in regard to criminal victimization? Recent research findings have found that the elderly are *not* more likely to be criminally victimized than members of other age groups.[19,20] On the contrary, it is reported that they are the least likely to criminally victimized of all age groups.[21]

We, and other observers and investigators, must regard such a statement with caution, because it assumes that the elderly constitute a homogeneous group. This is *not* the case. Where individuals live, resources accessible to them, available social supports and family members are some of the factors which determine the degree of risk of victimization. One critical question for which a definitive answer is lacking is whether *certain* elderly in *certain* areas are more likely to be victimized by *certain* crimes than are similar members of other age groups.

Other aspects of the victimization of the elderly profile are also being questioned. Are the physical, economic, psychological and social consequences of victimization more serious for the elderly than for the single parent household of the ghetto, or the young female professional in the corporation?

The prevalence of the fear of crime is the only element of the profile around which there is consensus. The elderly are more fearful of crime than are members of other age groups. In making this statement we still include the caveat that the elderly are not a homogeneous group and the level of fear may vary depending upon other variables.

Controversy also exists concerning the various types of programs targeted for elderly clients: (1) programs to prevent criminal victimization, (2) victim-assistance programs, and (3) programs directed at reducing fear of crime among the elderly. There is little agreement concerning the effectiveness of these programs.

A new issue, that of elderly criminality, emerged in the 1980's. The question is, how involved are the elderly themselves in criminal activities? The media present accounts explaining why the elderly are turning to crime. Some commentaries cite economic reasons. Others argue that, much like juvenile delinquents, the elderly are rebelling against their second-class status in American society. An important question yet to be answered, however, is: are our elderly turning to crime *or* are some life-long criminals just getting older?

Purpose of Present Report

There is much controversy and quite a few contradictions in the literature regarding key issues about crime and the elderly. The purpose of this work is a comprehensive examination of crime and the elderly citizen in the United States. This analysis will clarify some of the controversies and contradictions that exist in the field. In approaching this task, we examined a large body of the available scientific literature.

Another problem in this research area is conflicting interpretations of available statistical data and multiple data bases which result in contradictory conclusions on crime trends and targets of victimization. The National Crime Survey (NCS) data are used extensively by researchers in their analyses. In some cases, however, investigators provide grandiose conclusions based on trends from 1973/1974 NCS data. In others, the researchers used 1975/1976 NCS data and reached conclusions in total disagreement with earlier published results. In addition, some researchers focused their attention on the NCS national sample data, while others concentrated on the large-city data. To overcome these shortcomings and to ascertain trends in crimes related to the elderly person we undertook an examination of NCS data for each of the years available (1973-1980).

Specifically, *Crime and the Elderly in the United States* is organized in the following manner. In Chapter Two, we examine victimization patterns of the elderly. Detailed are the characteristics of those elderly who are at "high risk" of being victimized. Also presented are crimes more likely to be committed against the elderly. Chapter Three examines the economic, physical, psychological and social consequences that criminal victimization may present to elderly individuals. Chapter Four covers fear of crime in the lives of the elderly and consequences for elderly lifestyles. Programs directed to assist the elderly in handling and preventing victimization are the subject of Chapter Five. Three major types or programs are discussed: (1) those aimed at crime prevention, (2) those offering victim assistance, and (3) those aimed at reducing the fear of crime. An assessment of the effectiveness of these programs is also presented. Chapter Six is concerned with a relatively recent issue - the elderly offender. Chapter Seven suggests some ways in which new research can be brought to bear on both crime and victimization issues. Finally, in Chapter Eight we offer a policy analysis with program recommendations which if

implemented may provide the greatest assistance to those elderly citizens who are high risk victims or participants in criminal activities.

1. See, for example, Lewis Harris, *The Harris Survey* (Chicago: The Chicago Tribune), cited in T.J. Flanagan, D.J. Van Alstyne, and M.R. Gottfredson (eds.), *Source Book of Criminal Justice Statistics - 1981* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1981) pp. 178-180. See also George Gallup, *The Gallup Opinion Index* (Princeton, New Jersey: The American Institute of Public Opinion) cited in Flanagan et al, pp. 179-181, 182. Additionally, see Research and Forthcast, Inc., *The Figis Report on Fear of Crime: America Afraid* (Willoughby, Ohio: A-T-O, Inc. 1980) pp. 30, 32-34, 42-44, 49, 51, 53-54.
2. F. Furstenberg, "Public Reaction to Crime in the Streets," *American Scholar* 39: 601-610. Cited in Dan A. Lewis (ed.), *Reactions to Crime* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981)
3. See, for example, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1967). See also Report of National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1968). Additionally see National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, *Criminal Justice Research and Development*, Report of the Task Force on Criminal Justice Research and Development (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1976).
4. Fay L. Cook, "Crime and the Elderly: The Emergence of a Policy Issue." In Dan A. Lewis (ed.), *Reactions to Crime* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981) pp. 133-147.
5. *Toward a National Policy on Aging*. Proceedings of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1971) p. 74.
6. United States Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging. Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, 92nd Congress, First Session, October 1971.
7. H.J. Pratt, *The Gray Lobby* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976) p. 71
8. Fay Lomax Cook, op. cit., p129.
9. Margaret M. Braungart, William J. Hoyer and Richard G. Braungart, "Fear of Crime and the Elderly," in Arnold P. Goldstein, William J. Hoyer and Phillip J. Monti (eds.), *Police and the Elderly* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1979).
10. Ibid., p. 22
11. Fay Comax Cook, op. cit., pp. 136-138.
12. For a discussion of this issue, see Shearon Lowery and Melvin L. DeFleur, *Milestones in Mass Communication Research* (New York: Longman, 1983).
13. United States Congress, House of Representatives Select Committee on Aging, *In Search of Security: A National Perspective on Elderly Crime Victimization*. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1977).

    United States Congress, House of Representatives "Crime Against the Elderly": Hearings before the Subcommittee on Federal, State and Community Services of the Select Committee on Aging. 94th Congress, 2nd Session, December 1976.

    United States Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging (1972a) Hearing before the Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly. 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, August 1972.

    United States Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging (1972b) Hearing before the Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly. 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, October 1972.
14. Fay Lomax Cook, op. cit., p. 135.
15. Ibid., p. 136.
16. Robert Butler, *Why Survive? Being Old in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975) p. 300.
17. Louis Harris, *The Myth and Reality of Aging in America* (Washington, D.C.: National Council on Aging, 1975).
18. See, for example, the following sources: *Newsweek*, November 29, 1976, p. 29; *Time*, November 29, 1976, p. 21.
19. Fay L. Cook, Wesley Skogan, Thomas D. Cook and George Antunes, "Criminal Victimization of the Elderly," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1978.
20. James Garofola, "Victimization and the Fear of Crime," in Egon Bittner and Sheldon L. Messinger (eds), *Criminology Review Yearbook*, Vol. II. (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980).
21. Philip Janson and Louise K. Ryder, "Crime and the Elderly: The Relationship Between Risk and Fear," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 1983, pp. 207-212.

Criminal Victimization of the Elderly in the United States

Undoubtedly, the picture of a helpless elderly victim of crime evokes an outraged response in most individuals. Offenders who prey upon the aged and the infirm are viewed as despicable persons by the general citizenry. Thus, the study of elderly victimization and its consequences carries with it an urgency that is absent when it comes to most other categories of victims.

In the early studies of elderly victimization, it was reported that crime affected most older persons whether they had or had not been victimized. This was true regardless of where they lived or what level of financial and social resources they possessed. Fear even affected those elderly who were not particularly vulnerable.[1] The fear of crime had become pervasive among elderly Americans and fear itself could diminish the quality of their lives. This was true particularly when the elderly limited their activities and adopted more isolated lifestyles. An unnecessary number of elders had become prisoners in their own homes — casualties of the fear of crime. The picture painted by these early studies was one of widespread fear of violence and isolation among the elderly.

Additionally, the media reports of crime reinforced "common sense" beliefs about the elderly and crime already discussed in Chapter 1. We will examine some of the assumptions inherent in those beliefs.

Issues Involved in the Study of Elderly Victimization

Social service professionals who worked daily with the elderly were the first to recognize the differential effects of criminal victimization on elderly clients. These professionals began to call for special services for elderly victims of crime.[2] However, they accepted uncritically widely believed common sense assumptions about the vulnerability and fearfulness of their clients. Their clients were already vulnerable because they were poor and/or afflicted. Consequently it was very easy to associate vulnerability with fear of crime and isolation. In the beginning, the judgment of these social service professionals was unchallenged.

Data concerning victim characteristics were unavailable and the Uniform Crime Reports had no information comparing crime against the elderly with its occurrence against other age groups. No evidence was provided which could either confirm or refute the assumptions discussed in Chapter 1. This changed with the development of the victim-based approach to the study of crime (labeled "victimology" by its practitioners).

These new studies on victimization provided hard data on the elderly as victims and their fearfulness of crime. The first nationwide "victimization survey" was sponsored by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in 1967. It provided information about the so-called "dark figure" of unreported crime.[3] The survey provided information about victim characteristics as well as offender characteristics. The data allowed comparisons to be made among various social categories, including the aged. In 1972, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration began a series of continuing victimization studies based upon large samples of respondents. The surveys were conducted by the Bureau of the Census and the sampling procedures allowed the examination of the patterns of victimization of the elderly population. As a result, many of the previously discussed assumptions were questioned. The interpretation of these survey data remains a controversy in the literature. As we examine the patterns of victim characteristics and the crimes associated with them, one should keep in mind the following issues.

Issue 1 — Who are the elderly?

There are differences between the various studies on at what age one is defined as elderly. In some studies it is fifty-five years and over. In others, it is sixty years, and in still others sixty-five years. Sometimes the age of elderly decision is a statistical one, while in others it is a conceptual issue. For example, the number of respondents in a sample who are over sixty-five years of age may be too few to allow reliable estimation or comparison with other age cohorts. Thus, a criterion for statistical analysis may determine how cohorts are established.

In addition almost no distinctions have been made among cohorts of the elderly. Is it appropriate to use standard census cohorts with 10 years separating each one, e.g., 1910-1920, 1920-1930? After age 60 dramatic changes are likely to occur so that smaller cohorts using a five year span may be more appropriate. For example, the incidence of disability increases markedly as cohorts age, with a very high incidence in the 80-85 year cohort compared to the 65-70 year cohort. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that those elderly in the younger cohorts, however we define them, will possess fewer of the debilitating effects of aging. We might also assume that the younger cohort is less vulnerable. On the other hand, we might note that this relative good health might lead them to be "about town" more frequently, thus exposing themselves to a greater risk of certain forms of victimization, i.e., muggings and robbery. Such assumptions raise a question: Are the victimization characteristics of those elderly near sixty-five years more like those of fifty-five year-olds or seventy-five year-olds? Does the way we choose age categories and establish overall victimization rates for them mask important differences among subpopulations of the elderly?

Issue 2 — The Question of Differential Exposure

The study of elderly victimization is in its infancy when compared to other aspects of criminology. However, our current studies of victimization rates are influenced by the fact that it was already a well-developed phenomenon when these studies were begun, and apprehension to crime was already an established pattern among the elderly. We have no idea how their avoidance behaviors — taken to reduce vulnerability — have affected their actual victimization rates. We do know that the elderly have significantly less exposure to potential crime situations than other segments of the population. Whether this reduces their victimization rates is unclear.

Issue 3 — What are the Appropriate Crime Categories?

While there has been a shift in the focus of our investigations from the offender to the victim, the crime categories that were developed for the study of offenders are still retained. It may be that the wrong categories are being examined in measurements of crime against senior citizens. The traditional serious crimes (homicide, rape, assault, robbery, theft, burglary, and auto theft) may not be the crimes which are most likely to affect senior citizens. Robert Smith suggests that some "elder oriented" crimes found highly prevalent among older persons are insurance scams, medical quackery, bogus work-at-home offers, and home repair schemes.[4] In addition, no victimization studies include elder abuse, either those committed by family members or those done by institutional staff members, each of which may involve physical, material or psychological abuse or the violation of civil rights. Unfortunately, no comprehensive statistics have been kept about any of these offenses. The agument is often made that official crime satistics fail to document the full extent of crime against the elderly because the crimes to which they are particularly vulnerable fall outside the traditional reported categories of serious crimes.

Issue 4 — Problems of Group Comparability

The way we make comparisons between groups and use statistics may conceal crucial facts. Significant differences are often overlooked because the wrong questions are asked.

It is important to understand exactly what is being compared when examining victimization rates for various segments of the population. This is necessary because different social groups in American society may be subject to various types of crimes, and all groups to the same crimes, but each at a different incidence. We compare rates of crimes which have traditionally been considered "serious" offenses. One offense may be a common victimization event among members of one segment of the population and be virtually non-existent in another. One example of this phenomenon are rates of rape of females and males in non-institutionalized populations. These rates are extremely high among females. In contrast, such victimizations simply do not occur with any reliably measurable frequency among males.

Therefore, in comparing victimization rates for the elderly with those of other age groups, it is likely that some crimes which are prevalent among the elderly are more rare among other age groups, and vice versa.

The lifestyles of diverse social, economic, racial, and ethnic groups may make them subject to distinctive types of victimization. For example, people living in rural and suburban areas may have to deal more with nonfelonious (nonviolent) crimes than residents of inner-city areas. Age plays a similar role in susceptibility to particular crimes as well as to its incidence; e.g., there are more drug related crimes among the 20-30 year cohort than the 60-70 year one.

Crimes Against the Elderly

When questioned, elderly Americans consistently name "fear of crime" to be one of their most serious concerns.[5] This perception is in contradiction to victimization studies which consistently indicate that the elderly are less victimized, for traditional crimes measured, than other age groups in the popuation. This is the case in both a nationwide survey[6] and one confined to specific local areas.[7] These and other studies indicate that the elderly have a lesser incidence of victimization relative to their numbers in the population. In addition, for *any crime* reported the elderly are not as a group substantially more subject to victimization than other segments of the population. To understand why the elderly exhibit such a profound fear of crime there is a need to find new data other than statistical reported occurrences.

Before any assessment is made of the impact of crimes against the elderly, however, it is important to understand their exact frequency. Such knowledge compared with frequencies of other age groups provides clues to the origins of the senior citizens' fear of crime and how that fear affects their daily lives. The evidence is that when age categories are compared, persons over age sixty five, including those in all socio-economic, racial, ethnic and gender categories, are victimized much less frequently than are other age groupings. Some segments of the elderly population are victimized as or more frequently than younger groups and these data will be examined in the following sections. Fear may be a consequence of perceptions and interpretation of media reports of criminal activity against the most vulnerable minority, and not statistics such as reported incidence. This and similar issues are covered in later chapters. First we will analyze the reported data on the elderly person's vulnerability to crime and the consequences experienced from criminal victimization.

Patterns of Victimization

Researchers in criminology and gerontology are in disagreement on the incidence of crime committed against the elderly. Some investigators report that the elderly experience higher victimization rates because they are easy targets.[8] A number of scholars still hold to these beliefs in the face of evidence that the elderly are less victimized than other age groups.[9] Their arguments are:

1. The statistics do not cover all criminal acts against the elderly;
2. The elderly more than other groups fail to report the crimes which are statistically tabulated; and
3. Even if the data indicate that the rates of crime against the elderly are equal to or less than for other age groups, the consequences of victimization are much more severe for the elderly.

A partial explanation of these differences can be attributed to inadequacies in the systems of collecting data on crime. Before the victimization surveys the most readily available statistics about crime in the United States were the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Uniform Crime Reports program began in 1930. It was an attempt to standardize police reporting practices and to aid in understanding crime in the United States. Some progress was made in improving reporting practices, but substantial problems were encountered. Until recently, participation in the program was voluntary; each local jurisdiction made its own decisions to join, and submitted data directly to the FBI. While the FBI provided classificatory criteria for the crime categories, they had no direct supervisory procedures or responsibility for maintaining classificatory consistency. Thus, in many cases the data were not comparable — sometimes even for the same jurisdiction over time.

The reporting program did not achieve true nationwide participation until after Congress provided funding incentives to join and statewide collection agencies were formed to funnel the data to the FBI. Before then, the statistics were primarily from large, urban, relatively well-financed police departments. In addition, the reports contained only information about crimes known to the police, Obviously left unrecorded were unknown and unreported crimes.[10] Criminologists estimate that the incidence of reported crime in the Uniform Crime Reports represents about half of all crimes committed.[11]

Because of the defects in the UCR statistics, most researchers prefer to utilize data from victimzation surveys. Since 1972, the Census Bureau has conducted such nationwide surveys for the LEAA, now the Bureau of Justice Statistics of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). This National Crime Survey (NCS) was developed in response to the growing recognition of the inherent limitations of police statistics. Seven crimes are measured in the national Crime Surveys: rape, robbery, assault, personal larceny, household larceny, and motor vehicle theft. Murder was excluded from the survey because the victim cannot be questioned. In addition, arson is omitted since the presumed victim, the owner of the property, may be the offender, with insurance collection the motive for the crime.

Thus, the NCS closely parallels the UCR statistics in regard to the type of crime reported. In addition, both UCR and NCS statistics count as crimes all attempts to commit a crime as well as the successfully executed crimes. The NCS, however, collects the two instances separately whereas the UCR aggregates them. Thus, the NCS statistics are able to provide separate information for both types of offense; the UCR cannot do so.

The victimization surveys not only provide information about the crimes discussed above but also data about the characteristics of the victim, the crime itself, and in some cases the offender(s). The data include demographic characteristics of the victim such as age, race, sex, educational level attained, and income. In addition, the surveys gather information about the characteristics of the crime itself — when and where it occurred, the extent of injury and economic loss of the victim, the relationship between the victim and the offender, the characteristics of the offender as perceived by the victim, and whether or not someone reported the crime to the police. If the crime was not reported, the victim is asked why not. Additionally, in recent surveys those who did report are asked why they did so.

The results of these surveys, conducted annually, provide data about elderly victimization and comparable data about other segments of the population. The results provide information on two basic types of crime: crimes against persons and crimes against property. Property crimes, such as burglary or auto theft, are directed solely at someone's property, whereas personal crimes involve direct contact between the offender and the victim. The robber, for example, takes property from someone by force or threat of force. Other personal crimes involving victim/offerder contact include rape, assault, and personal larceny (stealing from a person without force or threat of force).

Age and Victimization

A number of studies document the relative infrequency of elderly victimization. For example, in 1966, the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) interviewed a nationwide sample of respondents from 10,000 households. Their findings showed that persons 65 years of age and over experienced aggravated assault, robbery, larceny, and auto theft far less frequently than did those of younger ages.[12]

The LEAA/NIJ victimization surveys — the National Crime Survey (NCS) — reached similar conclusions. The elderly have lower victimization rates than other age groups.[13] Trend data are presented in Table 1 and Table 2 on victimization rates between 1973 and 1980. They are aggregated according to age. Table 1 displays the changes in rates for personal crimes while Table 2 covers household crimes.

These data indicate that the elderly have lower rates for almost all major crime categories. The exceptions are personal larceny with contact and robbery. In this category persons 65 and over have rates higher than all age groups except those 16-19 and 20-24. For robbery, the 65 and over rates are roughly equivalent to those age 35-49 and 50-64. All older citizens experience rates *substantially* lower than those in the 12-34 group.

There is a fairly consistent decrease in victimization rates with increasing age. This occurs for both household crimes (Table 2) and personal crimes (Table 1). This relationship is graphically illustrated in the case of violent crimes (rape, robbery, and assault). While the overall rates remained

relatively constant between 1973 and 1980, the rates for the elderly actually declined (Figure 1). This is in contrast to the rates for those 16-19, 20-24 and 25-34.

Figure 2 shows the trend for crimes of theft according to age between 1973 and 1980. Persons over 65 experienced a low and stable rate during this eight year period. With the exception of those 20-24 and 25-34, the victimization rates for crimes of theft have been declining since 1976. Similar patterns exist when sex is controlled (see Figures 3 and 4). The rates for persons age 50-64, and 65+ are remarkably similar for both sexes. It is only among younger groups that the rate for males is higher.

The victimization rates for the elderly have remained relatively constant in all of the major categories between 1973 and 1980 (Figure 5). Table 3 summarizes these data, taking averages for all these crimes for the period 1973-1980. A comparison of the victimization rates for those 65 and over with those for victims under 65 (12-64), indicates consistently lower rates for the former, with the exception of one category — personal larceny with contact. This difference, however, is small vis-a-vis those in the other categories and is not statistically significant. In all other categories of crime, however, the observed differences between the elderly and younger victims are both substantial in absolute terms and statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level. Furthermore, in each of those categories the elderly have lower rates (see Table 3).

Despite these statistics, crime remains a serious problem for the elderly. George Antunes and associates found that while the elderly were less likely to be subjected to violent crimes (rape and assault) they were more likely to suffer from predatory incidents (robbery and personal larceny).[14] In their analysis of 1973-74 National Crime Survey data, robbery was the most frequent crime committed against the elderly (31.9%), followed by personal larceny (31.3%). Together, these two offenses accounted for more than 70 percent of all the crimes against the elderly. In contrast, for all other groups the largest percentage consisted of violent crimes.

The elderly suffer a relatively higher rate of robbery with injury than those aged 35-49 or 50-64 years.[15] More than fifty-five percent of the robberies of persons over sixty-five result in injury. Table 4, showing data from 1977, illustrates that this rate is highest of all age groups. Thus, we can see that although elderly persons are less likely to be robbed than many younger citizens, when they are robbed they are more likely to be injured.

Other types of crime also appear to be more prevalent against the elderly. Gubrium indicated that persons over fifty are more likely to experience "malicious mischief" offenses such as obscene telephone calls and general harrassment than persons of other age groups.[16] In addition, older women are the victims of purse snatching more often than women of all other age groups (see Table 5).

The general statistics on elderly victimization do not identify that some segments of the elderly population are victimized much more frequently than others. The sex, race, and residence area of the victim produces markedly different victimization rates.

Sex and Victimization

Except for the crimes of rape and larceny, more older men than women are victimized by personal crimes. Trend data in Tables 6a and 6b indicate that older men are victimized about twice more often than older women. These sex differences in rate of victimization occur in all age groups. Data in Figures 6 and 7 illustrate the difference between men and women in their susceptibility to victimization by violent crimes. The relative stability of these rates among the three older age groupings is noteworthy, when compared to the four younger age groups.

Davis and Brody reported that while older men are more frequently victimized, women are most vulnerable to personal theft while on the street and to burglary or robbery while in their homes.[17]

A contrary finding is found in the Midwest Research Institute Study which reported that elderly women were more likely to be victims than men.[18] In this study, which examined 6,000 criminal acts committed over a three year period, it was found that sixty percent of the white victims and fifty-two percent of the black victims were female. These statistics are based on data of known crimes reported to the police.

Race and Victimization

There are pronounced differences among the elderly victims of crime according to race. Older blacks are victimized at almost twice the rate as elderly whites regarding robbery, rape and assault (Table 7a). Older blacks are victimized by robbery at two and one-half times the rate of older whites. For theft, however, the ratios are much closer (Table 7b). But blacks do suffer personal larceny with contact (purse snatching, pocket picking) at a level higher than that found in any other group; among the elderly, blacks are victimized by these crimes five times more often than whites.

While detailed breakdowns according to crimes are not available by race and sex, summary data about crimes of violence and theft are presented in Table 8 for the years 1973-1980. These data confirm differences between the sexes within black and white groups. Black males are victimized at rates higher than black females. Among elderly victims, however, both black males and females are victimized at rates greater than or equal to white elderly males. Presented in Figure 8 are the rates of white males who experienced violent crimes. When compared with the rates for black males (Figure 9) the finding is that elderly blacks are more frequently victimized. This is actually a reversal of the pattern for younger victims. (It should be noted here that the rates for blacks are computed with less precision than those for whites because for them the sample size is rather small. In fact, in all of this series of figures we can notice wider fluctuations in the measured rates for blacks that result from this effect of sample size.)

A similar victimization pattern is evident among female victims of violent crimes (Figures 10 and 11). Elderly black women are victimized at higher rates than elderly white women. Among younger elderly women, however, the rates seem to be somewhat similar.

Figures 12 through 15 present a similar breakdown for crimes of theft. Among males, younger whites are victimized at rates slightly higher than younger blacks. Elderly males, however, suffer roughly equivalent rates of victimization by theft (Figures 12 and 13). This pattern also holds for female victims (Figures 14 and 15). White females between ages 12-24 are victimized at rates substantially higher than black females of the same age. In the 50-64 and 65+ groups, however, the rates become almost equal. It is thus evident that there are substantial differences in victimization according to age and race.

Residence and Victimization

Where a person lives in the United States has an influence on the probability of that person being victimized. The elderly are no exception. Approximately one-third of America's elderly live in the inner cities of the United States. These sections of the city are deteriorating physically and economically. They harbor the heaviest concentration of the conditions traditionally associated with high levels of crime. Moreover, this is also where most criminals live. Those elderly who live within the core areas of America's large cities are victimized at disturbingly high rates.[19]

Older people tend to remain in the central cities long after the character of the neighborhoods in which they have lived most of their lives has changed. As a result, many of them now live in isolation. This makes them susceptible to street crimes, burglaries and confidence games. These are crimes where criminals can feel more secure when they are confronting a solitary victim.[20] These elderly residents thus face a community in which crime is a common occurrence.

The data in Table 9 indicate that there is a higher prevalence of crime in inner cities than elsewhere in the country. The victimization rate for the elderly in thirteen major cities is uniformly higher than for the country as a whole. For example, in Oakland, California, the robbery with injury rate is more than six times the national average. Moreover, in San Francisco the rate for larceny with contact is thirteen times that of the country as a whole. The rate for robbery with injury for the elderly is the highest or second highest among the sixty-five or older group in five of these cities. In addition, the rate for larceny is highest or next to highest in ten of the tirteen cities surveyed.[21]

Similar results were obtained in a survey of eight American cities, conducted a year later. Elderly residents were found to be victimized at rates substantially higher than the national average. Increases in victimzation were more often experienced by the older age group. The elderly were more frequently the victims of robbery with injury in four of these cities. In the four others the rate was nearly equal to the younger populations.[22]

There are large differences in crime rates between neighborhoods in American cities. The Midwest Research Institute found that elderly residents of low income neighborhoods of Kansas City were robbed or burglarized three times more often than was the entire population of the city.[23]

A study of crime in New York City revealed that fifty-one percent of those sampled sixty years of age or older had been victims of crime in the recent past.[24] Another study, in the Flatbush area of Brooklyn, discovered that 61 of 100 elderly residents were victimized in a one year period. The area's three police precincts ranked high among city precincts in reported crimes against the elderly. They were first, second and fifth in a ranking of New York City's seventy-three precincts.[25]

All of these studies indicate that the elderly who live in central cities are subject to substantially greater levels of victimization than is indicated for the elderly in national studies. The inference is that those who do not live in central cities live safer lives; they are victimized less by crime.

The Circumstances of the Crime

Crimes against the elderly are differentiated from those committed against other age groups by other factors. Antunes and associates examined the 1973 and 1974 National Crime Survey Data with respect to the age of the victim and offender traits. They found that the pattern of violent crimes against the elderly was similar to that of other adult age groups with respect to the percentage of youthful offenders, the frequency of gang attacks, and offenders who were armed. The victimizers of the elderly, however, were more likely to be strangers and black when the victim was white[26] (see Table 10). This pattern has been referred to as the "violent stranger syndrome."[27] In addition, when personal street or predatory crimes were examined, the offenders (attackers) were more likely to be youths and blacks than were the assailants of victims in any other age groups (Table 11).

It now becomes much easier to understand why elderly citizens exhibit such a high level of fear of crime. Elderly Americans actually are victimized less than other citizens, in general. However, the crimes which are committed against older people are most often perpetrated by violent strangers, youths, and by persons of another race. This presents a definite pattern of unpredictability and danger for the elderly. The pattern of crime against the elderly reinforces their sense of vulnerability and uncertainty. It creates a sense of fear. The mass media highlights these vulnerabilities and uncertainties.

Another distressing pattern is that violent crimes against the elderly are committed in or in proximity to their homes. Thirty-two percent of the violent crimes against the elderly took place within their homes. Another twenty percent of them occurred in the victims' yard or in a common area of the building where they lived. Thus, more than half the violent crimes against the elderly occurred in or in proximity to their homes. In contrast, violent crimes against younger persons occur more frequently away from home, in the street or commercial buildings. Antunes and associates conclude that some of the fear exhibited by the elderly may result from their recognition that they have no safe haven. They know that more often than not, victimization will involve the invasion of their home.

Conclusion

To summarize, the elderly are victimized by traditionally measured crimes less frequently than other segments of the population. However, sex, race and the location of residence all produce variations from this low victimization rate. In general, the aged are victims of more property crimes than of personal crimes which involve contact with the criminal. Older men, however, are victimized more by personal crimes than are older women, except for larceny with contact (purse snatching) and rape. Elderly residents of the inner city are victimized at levels above the national average for the elderly and as frequently as younger urban residents. Older blacks suffer crimes of violence twice as frequently as whites and are victims of personal larceny with contact five times more often. In addition, while their rates for robbery are not the highest, when they are robbed older Americans are more likely to suffer an injury, and to be victimized by a stranger, youth, or member of another race. Moreover, there is a greater tendency for these victimizations to occur in or in proximity to their homes. Such patterns of victimization instill and reinforce feelings of uncertainty, suspicion, and fear. With diminished physical well being, mental alertness and mobility, older persons are susceptible to perceiving and accepting a pervasive fear of crime. Such conditions produce a lowered self-concept and this condition feeds into a mind state which encompasses feelings of helplessness and victimization.

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2. See, for example, United States Congress,Senate Special Committee on Aging, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, 92nd Congress, 1st session, October, 1971; and Toward a National Policy on Aging, Proceedings of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971).
3. Albert D. Biderman and Albert J. Reiss, "On Exploring the 'Dark Figure' of Crime," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 374, 1967, pp. 1-15.
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5. Louis Harris, *The Myth and Reality of Aging in America* (Washington, D.C.: National Council on Aging, 1975).
6. See the entire published series of national victimization surveys, the National Crime Survey, published for 1973 through 1980. The latest issue is *Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1980*, U.S. Department of Justice (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1982).
7. Michael J. Hindelang, *Criminal Victimization in 13 American Cities* (Cambridge, MA.: Ballinger, 1976).
8. Carl Cunningham, *Crimes Against the Aging: Patterns and Prevention* (Kansas City, Missouri: Midwest Research Institute, 1978).
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10. Albert D. Biderman and Albert J. Reiss, "Surveys of Population Samples for Estimating Crime Incidence," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 374, 1967, pp 16-33.
11. Wesley G. Skogan, "Citizen Reporting of Crime: Some National Panel Data," *Criminology*, Vol. 13, 1976, pp. 535-549.
12. Fay Lomax Cook and Thomas D. Cook, "Evaluating the Rhetoric of Crisis: A Case Study of Criminal Victimization of the Elderly," *Social Service Review*, Vo. 50, 1976, pp. 632-646.
13. Frank Clemente and Michael B. Kleinman, op. cit., p. 19.
14. George E. Antunes, Fay L. Cook, Thomas D. Cook and Wesley Skogan, "Patterns of Personal Crime Against the Elderly: Findings from a National Survey," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1977.
15. Victoria H. Jaycox, Lawrence J. Center and Edward F. Anselo, op.cit.
16. Jaber F. Gubrium, "Victimization in Old Age: Available Evidence and Three Hypotheses," *Crime and Delinquency*, July, 1976, p. 22.

17. Linda J. Davis and Elaine M. Brody, *Rape and Older Women: A Guide To Prevention and Protection* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979).
18. Midwest Research Institute, *Crimes Against the Aging: Patterns and Prevention* (Kansas City, Mo: MRI, 1977).
19. Victoria H. Jaycox, op.cit.
20. Ibid.
21. U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, *Criminal Victimization Survey in 13 American Cities* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1975).
22. United States Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, *Criminal Victimization Survey in Eight American Cities* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1978) See also Michael J. Hindelang, *Criminal Victimization in Eight American Cities: Final Report* (Washington, D.C.: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1978).
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25. George F. Bishop and William R. Klecka, "Victimization and Fear of Crime Among the Elderly Living in High-Crime Urban Neighborhoods," (Washington, D.C.: National Council of Senior Citizens, 1978).
26. George E. Antunes, op.cit.
27. Robert J. Smith, op.cit.

The Consequences of Criminal Victimization of Elderly Americans

In previous discussions we have examined the patterns which have developed in crimes committed against the elderly. Incidence for the elderly has been compared with other age groups in the population. The attention given to statistics could convey a false impression. A dispassionate discussion of victimization rates may appear to imply a callous disregard for the humanity of the victims. This, of course, is not the case. It must certainly be kept in mind that no matter how large or how small the figures are, the victims suffer physical and mental anguish, and in some cases the loss of highly needed resources.

Attention is now given to consequences which befall elderly victims as a result of the crimes committed against them. These are: (1) economic, (2) physical, (3) psychological, and (4) social consequences. Each is now examined.

Economic Consequences of Victimization

Elderly persons who suffer an economic loss as the result of a crime are likely to be more negatively affected than other age groups. Compared to other age groups the elderly have fewer financial resources and suffer more when they lose even a fraction of their resources. Fay Cook and associates found that the actual monetary loss in total dollars of older persons was low compared to other age groups.[1] However, these losses as a percentage of monthly income are significantly higher than those for other age groups.[2] The only group with a higher percentage of monthly income loss is the cohort under age 32. The majority of this group are likely not to be sole earners or recipients of pensions, as are the elderly; they also tend to receive financial assistance from their families, especially those who are of school age.

The Midwest Research Institute found that elderly victims who lost property in Kansas City were denied nearly a quarter of a month's income. Those elderly victims with incomes well below the poverty level lost an entire month's income.[3]

Property loss transposed into dollars is not the only economic hardship that victimization may impose on the elderly. Frequently, the loss of "critical" property — such as television sets and radios — takes on added significance for the elderly victim. These are not easily replaced even if the victim is insured. Many of the elderly, especially persons with limited mobility, rely on these media for their knowledge and links to the outside world.

Elderly who are criminalized are often deprived of cherished mementoes of their life experiences. It is impossible to replace such losses which have intrinsic value. For some individuals a loss of possessions which

represent relationships, feelings, and experiences of the past can be a personal catastrophe for the individual.[4] There is a loss of anchorages and increased feelings of isolation and rejection. It can be hypothesized that this type of loss exacerbates the already precarious mental and physical stability of the older person. Victimization is likely to result in increased morbidity.

Physical Consequences of Victimization

Older persons with less strength and stamina than younger persons are not as able to defend themselves or to escape when they find themselves in threatening situations. Their vulnerability to physical violence is increased because large numbers of elderly have arthritis, loss of hearing or sight, and other conditions; their bones also break more easily and healing takes longer. Thus, the elderly are physically more fragile and therfore more easily hurt than are younger people.

If the elderly person decides to resist the criminal he or she is more likely to be injured. Because of the "infirmities of age" the elderly are less likely to resist their attackers.[5] Data from the 1980 National Crime Survey (see Table 12) support this contention. For crimes of violence, at no time during the seven year period covered by the data do elderly victims report taking self-protective measures more frequently than persons of other age groups. The group which is most comparable to the elderly in this regard are persons age 50-64, closest to them in age and perhaps in vulnerability. In general, this relationship holds for all categories of crime for which the National Crime Survey data provide statistically reliable measures. Some exceptions occurred in 1978, when victims 50-64 years of age resisted robberies in which they were injured 42.8 percent of the time. Those over 65, however, resisted 51.8 percent of the time. A similar pattern occurred that year for aggravated assault; those 50-64 resisted less often than any other age group (52.4%); those over 65, however, resisted only slightly more frequently (56.1%). This pattern is exceptional. In general, the elderly resist less frequently. In any event, these two age groups (50-64, 65 and over) report resisting less than other age cohorts.

For robberies, a mixed pattern emerges. Elderly usually resist less often than do members of other groups, in categories of robbery with or without injury. Data support the notion that resistance may lead to injury. In 1978, for example, NCS reports that resistance occurred in 51.8 percent of the robberies involving injury. In 33.6 percent of the cases those who resisted escaped injury.

In 1978 victims resisted in 56.1 percent of the aggravated assaults and 44.5 percent of the simple assaults. Trends are not evident. In some years the percent of resistance and consequence is similar to 1978 (1975, 1980); the reverse occurs in 1977 and 1979.

For all age groups there are higher percentages resisting in the robbery with injury, and aggravated assault categories. Thus, these data support the conclusion that the elderly are more likely to be injured than any other

age groups when they are attacked.[6] They are more likely to receive internal injuries, suffer cuts and bruises, and to lose consciousness.

Table 13 presents data concerning the percentage of victimizations which result in injury to the victims from the 1973 to 1980 National Crime Surveys. Overall the elderly suffer injury more often than all but the two youngest age groups. However, in examining robbery and assault separately, it is evident that the two oldest age groups usually are injured more frequently in robberies than by assaults. When robbed they suffer more injuries than do members of younger age groups.

Cook and associates reported that the elderly were not more likely than others to need medical treatment as a result of criminal victimization. It was conceded however, that the cost of such care expended a considerably larger proportion of the elderly's income than was the case for younger age groups. In contrast to the Cook findings, Jaycox and associates found that the elderly did require medical care more often than other groups.[7] They cited NCS statistics, using 1977 data. To resolve these conflicting postures the data in Table 14 are examined. Careful inspection of the 1973-1980 NCS surveys indicates that there have been changes in the hospitalization of the elderly as victims of crime. In 1974, 1976 and 1977, elderly victims required hospital treatment more often than did the other age groupings, whereas in 1973, 1975, 1978, 1979 and 1980, they did not. Note particularly that in 1977, the elderly victim required hospital care from injuries received during robberies more often than did any other age group. (Note again that this is the percentage of elderly victims of robberies, not of all victims of robberies.) Again, this changed in the succeeding years, dropping in 1978 and 1979, but apparently rising again in 1980. In 1979, the hospital care necessary for the elderly robbery victim was roughly equal to or less than the percentage for other adult age groupings.

Two conclusions are drawn on the physical consequences of criminal victimization of elderly Americans. First, the weakening physical condition of older persons as a consequence of the normal aging process makes them more vulnerable to victimization. Second, it has not been established that the elderly suffer serious enough injury to require hospital care more frequently than do numbers of other age groups. Ease of access and feelings about using the hospital or emergency care centers may influence these statistics. Additional research is needed to clarify these issues.

Psychological Consequences

There is little empirical evidence on the frequency of occurrence of psychological consequences as a result of victimization. Most discussions focus on speculations on the ways victims respond to crimes. Another discussion form is to present cases from clinical practice, reporting the reactions of patients. The following discussion is therefore theoretical, and hopefully, "good theory."

The emotional consequences of victimization for elderly persons are

related to their physical condition. This includes both their ailments and the impairment of functioning which often accompanies aging. There is speculation that because of the debilitating effects of aging, the emotional stability of the elderly is extremely fragile; this makes them even more vulnerable when they are victimized by criminals. Such pervasive fearfulness is not restricted only to victims. It has become generalized throughout the aged population. One option is for elderly residents to stay home and withdraw from the life of the community. It may be safer for elderly citizens at home. But when crime does occur in the home these self-confined prisoners are often left without any safe refuge. This can be a devastating trauma for them. In addition, because large numbers of elderly citizens have limited vision, they often fail to notice or recognize threats to their safety in time to do something about this danger.

It is evident that the concomitant effects of aging do contribute to a person's vulnerability to crime. Hoever, if elderly residents recognize their new limitations and attempt to compensate for them, they may become extremely sensitive to environmental occurrences. Thus, they may overreact in a non-threatening situation, or display symptoms of chronic anxiety. Lawton and colleagues[8] have pointed out that even if an elderly person correctly and accurately diagnoses a dangerous situation, there is no guarantee that she or he would be able to do anything about it. The elderly person's ability to formulate an appropriate response diminishes with time. Thus, even if the elderly decide upon a proper response, they may be unable to implement it. No matter what the age of the victim, crimes happen suddenly and quickly. These elements of crimes severely strain any persons' ability to respond; information cannot be processed fast enough to react. Thus, because the elderly have a reduced capacity to react to the situation the overload on their abilities produced by the victimization is overpowering. The elderly are often incapacitated. Elderly victims may not comprehend the situation. If they do recognize it, they may remain passive or take the wrong action. Thus, elderly victims may be virtually helpless.

In the gerontological literature old age has been referred to as the "season of loss."[9] It is a time when the person experiences a loss of status and self-esteem. In addition to a permanent loss of loved ones, there is a diminution of mental dexterity and physical prowess. Most elderly persons cope with these losses and adjust to them; others do not. Thus, the emotional and psychological strain these losses produce can cause stressful reactions in those elderly who become victims of crime. Lawton and his associates argue that many elderly victims develop maladaptive behaviors because of their life situation, as a consequence of the losses they have incurred and their inability to cope with the situation.[10] These maladaptive behaviors contribute to the elderly person's devaluation of the self and make that individual subject to even more stress. Thus, the very process of aging and the losses associated with it may produce a predisposition among elderly victims for maladaptive responses to crime.

Berg and Johnson examined the psychological costs of victimization which influence the victims' adjustment to the neighborhood, community

and society. They concluded that members of groups which were relatively powerless and which have low status in society were most likely to accept the role of victim and to adjust their life patterns accordingly. They found that elderly women were more likely to display behavior and values, e.g., withdrawal, fatalism and isolationism, associated with acceptance of the victim role.[11]

Among the dangerous coping techniques used by victims are: denial of problems, acute and chronic anxiety, withdrawal, projection, and depression. Each of these can have substantial effects on the victims of crimes. While withdrawal can reduce vulnerability to harm, it can also reduce the elderly person's ability to respond to a crisis situation when it occurs. Projection does help elderly victims vent their anger on outsiders; these persons become scapegoats. However, those elderly who utilize projection as a coping technique may become overly distrustful. Depression is always a potentially serious problem which can have tragic consequences — e.g., suicide. Other possible serious psychological reactions by elderly victims of crime include: paranoid behavior, overcompensation, alcoholism, and dependency. It is obvious that all of these coping techniques can seriously affect the quality of life of the elderly citizen; indeed, some may lead to death.

It must be emphasized when dealing with elderly victims, that victimization can have a devastating effect on an already weakened resistance. Old age tends to greatly reduce the body's reserve capacity to respond to an emotional crisis; thus, the elderly person's physical tolerance of stress is reduced. An elderly person may have absorbed so many stresses by his or her "season of loss" that the added stress produced by victimization may lead older persons to adopt one or more of the extreme coping techniques.[12]

Many psychiatrists believe that it is absolutely essential that elderly victims receive counseling when they do not cope effectively with a crime. They argue that if there is no counseling the victimization will likely result in some psychological damage to the individual.[13] Other researchers, however, point out that not all elderly victims need counseling. In light of the scarcity of resources, it is essential that we not force counseling on those who can successfully cope without it. This is not an easy distinction to make; it is discussed in Chapter Five.

Social Consequences

The social environment of elderly victims is another significant factor which contributes to their vulnerability. Many elderly Americans live alone; hence they are prime targets for burglary, street crimes, and fraud. In addition, once they have been victimized, these elderly citizens may withdraw even further from the world. Garofola indicated that the more fearful elderly persons were of victimization, the more often they indicated

that they had limited or changed their activities to avoid crime.[14] Because many older Americans do live in urban neighborhoods which are high crime areas or close to them when they are victimized, the consequence is often limited mobility and fewer interactions with friends, neighbors and relatives. Moreover, the elderly poor are frequently unable to move away from such living areas because they cannot afford to move, or to live in a safer neighborhood. As a result, they take whatever adaptive measures to prevent further victimization which seem to them to be the most feasible. Thus, the most likely response is withdrawal from the community and curtailment of the kinds and locations of activities outside of their homes. Besides, even when elderly victims can afford to move away from a dangerous neighborhood to safer surroundings, they are forced to leave behind a lifetime's ties to the community. There are social, emotional, and cultural ties which bind many elderly to their neighborhoods. As a result, many elderly residents withdraw in fear. Such withdrawal substantially alters the quality of their lives because it further isolates them and usually reinforces their fear of crime. As we reported in Chapter 2, the elderly in America's cities do have more to be afraid of than fear itself. However, this fear of crime is the most pervasive consequence of crimes against the elderly. One need not be a victim, to be affected. Fear spreads throughout communities like an uncontrolled contagious disease, affecting those who come in contact with it. Moreover, there is no acquired immunity. However, as we shall see in Chapter 4, the fear of crime has a greater impact upon the members of the elderly community than does the actual crime.

1. Fay L. Cook, Wesley Skogan, Thomas D. Cook and George Antunes, "Criminal Victimization of the Elderly," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1978.
2. U.S. Congress, House Select Committee on Aging, *Research into Crimes Against the Elderly (Part 2)*, Joint Hearing before House Subcommittee on Domestic and International Scientific Planning, Analysis and Cooperation and Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interest, February 1, 1978. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office 1978.)
3. Midwest Research Institute, *Crimes Against the Aging: Patterns and Prevention* (Kansas City, MO: MRI, 1977).
4. Victoria H. Jaycox, Lawrence J. Center and Edward F. Anselio, *Effective Responses to the Crime Problem of Older Americans: A Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: The National Council of Senior Citizens, 1980).
5. Jack Goldsmith and Noel E. Tomas, "Crime Against the Elderly: A Continuing National Crisis," *Aging*, Nos. 236-7, June-July 1974.
6. Fay L. Cook, Wesley Skogan, Thomas D. Cook and George Antunes, *op.cit.*
7. Victoria H. Jaycox, Lawrence J. Center and Edward F. Anselio, *op.cit.*
8. M. Powell Lawton, Lucille Nahemow, Sylvia Yaffe and Steven Feldman, "Psychological Aspects of Crime and Fear of Crime." In Jack Goldsmith and Sharon S. Goldsmith (eds.) *Crime and the Elderly — Challenge and Response* (Lexington, MA. D.C. Heath & Co., 1976).
9. Eric C. Pfeiffer, "Psychotherapy of the Elderly," *The National Association of Private Psychiatric Hospitals Journal*, Vol. 10, No.1, Fall 1978.
10. M. Powell Lawton, Lucille Nahemow, Sylvia Yaffe and Steven Feldman, *op.cit.*
11. William E. Berg and Robert Johnson, "Assessing the Impact of Victimization: Acquisition of the Victim Role Among Elderly and Female Victims." In William H. Parsonage (ed.) *Perspectives on Victimization* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979), pp. 58-71.
12. Eric C. Pfeiffer, *op.cit.*
13. John H. Stein, Ed., *Criminal Justice and the Elderly Newsletter* (Washington, D.C.: National Council of Senior Citizens, Fall 1978).
14. James Garofola, "Victimization and the Fear of Crime," In Egon Bittner and Sheldon L. Messinger (eds.), *Criminology Review Yearbook*, Vol. II. (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980).

Some respondents reported that there were locations nearby in which they would be afraid to walk even in broad daylight. Eleven percent of those 18-24 years old indicated that such a place existed, whereas 14 percent of those 15-19 years old and 14 percent of those 65 and over reported knowing of such a place.

Females are more fearful than males, non-whites more than whites, and non-participants in the labor force more than those employed (Table 16). The differences according to these demographic variables indicate the complexity and variability in intensity of fear among the elderly population. The pervasiveness of fear of victimization persists but some subpopulations experience and express fear far differently from others.

There is additional evidence regarding changing levels of fear between 1965 and 1976. Cutler analyzed data from two national surveys taken eleven years apart.[9] He measured levels of fear of crime among a number of age cohorts. The results indicate that the older more than the younger cohorts express fear for their safety on the streets. While such fear increased for all cohorts over the eleven year period, the size of the changes was not uniform. There was a large increase in levels of fear, but the rate of increase in fear was far lower for the younger cohorts than for the older cohorts. Because fear increased more rapidly among the old cohorts, the differences between the younger and older cohorts in levels of fear were more pronounced in 1976 than in 1965.

Levels of fearfulness are generally higher for those over sixty; however, the level of that fear continues to rise with increasing age. Cook and Associates found that there had been greater increases in fearfulness among the various age groups over 65 years than had occurred among all groups between 25 and 65 years of age. The major finding is that there are more differences in fearfulness among cohorts of the elderly than among younger age groups.[10]

Another researcher, Wesley Skogan, analyzed successive national surveys over a sixteen-year period and found an increase in levels of fear among the general population over that period.[11] The bulk of that increase, however, occurred between 1967 and 1974 (Figure 16). Polls since 1974 indicate that fear of crime is not increasing. The rise of the fear of crime parallels that for crime itself, especially as measured by victimization surveys. Between 1965 and 1974, crime rates rose sharply, then leveled off. During the remaining years of the 1970's, there were some fluctuations, but the consensus emerged that there was a fairly stable national crime rate.[12] A similar pattern occurred in the fear of crime. Cook and Associates[13] confirmed this steady increase in the fear of crime for the elderly during the same time. In their study, high levels of fear increased from a low of 31 percent of the elderly in 1967, to a high of 45 percent of them in 1981, but the largest increase occurred between 1967 and 1974. Recent evidence provided by the 1983 Gallup Crime Audit discussed above seems to indicate that there may have been more increases in the fear of crime when only those over 65 are considered (before 1983, Gallup did not compile figures for subgroups of those over 50 years of age as

he did in the 1983 survey report). The difference in levels of fearfulness between young and old has increased.

In review, the fear of crime is widespread. There are fearful persons among each of the subgroups of the population of the United States. High levels of fear occur particularly among women, blacks, the poor, the elderly, and the city dwellers. Some questions arise, however, as to just how this fear of crime has become so widespread. Is fearfulness related to risk of victimization or to something else? There is some evidence suggesting a link between risk and fearfulness. Another is "vicarious victimization."

The Problem of Vicarious Victimization

A number of writers have indicated that vicarious victimization may be part of the genesis in the fear of crime. Skogan[14] indicates that measures of direct victimization do not explain variation found among individuals and groups in their fear of crime. Careful analysis of the National Crime Survey victimization survey does reveal a substantial correspondence between *perceptions of safety* and self reports of behavior. Skogan suggests that victimization experiences of family and friends influence fear of crime. He examined the number of robberies and personal thefts suffered by members of each person's household and their perceptions of safety. It was found that perceptions of safety declined as the experience came closer to the person, with increases in this "indirect victimization." Skogan concluded that the roots of most people's perceptions of crime and knowledge of victimization came from secondary sources, not their own experience with crime. These sources include mass media reports, in addition to accounts of victimization of family, friends, and neighbors.

Consequently, if neighbors discuss crime problems in their neighborhood, they may be propagating fearfulness rather than dispelling it. Sharing knowledge and information can reinforce or generate fear of crime. Braungart and Associates conclude, "The situation becomes even more frightening to the older person when he or she begins to hear from a friend or a neighbor about the elderly lady down the street who was mugged, or the old man three blocks away whose home was vandalized and heavily damaged."[15] Such spreading of victimization information is identified as "vicarious victimization."[16]

High exposure to "news" about crime via newspaper, television and other media can also increase anxiety and levels of fear. This is particularly true because crime is "easy news."[17] The steady flow of crime news and the accessibility of police and crime reports make crime stories particularly useful to newspaper personnel. They can be used to train new reporters, to even out the "flow" of news, or simply to "balance" a page. One important result from the focus on crime is that the crime news presented by the press is biased. The emphasis is on the sensational, unique, and often infrequently occurring events. Media sources view crime as competitive news and each organization tends to duplicate the coverage of the competitor.

Gordon and Heath[18] report that the fear of crime was higher among readers of papers that exploited crime as "easy news" than it was among readers of newspapers that gave crime less prominent coverage.

Social Factors Associated with Fear of Crime

A number of social characteristics are associated with high concern about crime. Those persons who are most vulnerable to crime and the most affected by it also have the most fears. These groups include: city-dwellers, the poor, women, and those elderly who are not integrated into the activities of their communities.

Location of Residence

The location of a person's residence has an influence upon his or her relative risk of victimization (see Chapter 3). Victimization rates are higher in large cities, especially in the inner-city areas, than in the suburbs and rural areas. Elderly who live in these large cities are also more fearful of crime than older Americans who live elsewhere.[19] As the size of the city increases, the relationship between age and fear of crime also increases. The size of the city in which the urban elderly reside is more important to relative fearfulness of crime for the elderly than for younger age groups. Janson and Ryder[20] support this finding, but also suggest that age serves to index that portion of the population that is more frequently alone than other groups.

In addition to size of city, several research studies examine the effects of type of dwelling on fear of crime. Sundeen and Mathieu[21] found that people who lived in age-segregated retirement communities and condominiums were most likely to feel safe, while those living near high concentrations of minority group members expressed the greatest fear. Also these central city residents, in contrast to the retirement community dwellers, had fewer social resources, negative perceptions of community safety, and a greater fear of crime. Living alone, even in age-segregated housing in which risk was relatively low, was associated with a level of fearfulness greater than for those living with others. This suggests that living alone appears to be an important factor in the level of fearfulness.

Socioeconomic Status and Race

Older blacks are found to be more fearful of crime than older whites. There is disagreement, however, on the cause of this difference. Some researchers believe that the differences which exist are due more to differences in the neighborhoods in which whites and blacks live than to race itself.[22]

For Americans of all ages low income is associated with fear of crime. The poor may be more fearful than the more affluent economic group for the same reasons that blacks are more fearful than whites. Blacks and the poor live in neighborhoods where there are high levels of crime.[23] The poor lose more than other economic groups when victimized. They are less able to cope with the financial and property

losses, and are less able to protect themselves from crime. Good security is expensive; money and property taken in a crime are probably uninsured and lost forever, with little hope of replacement. Furthermore, those living in high crime areas who want and can afford insurance find it unobtainable. One reason the relationship between fear of crime and income is even stronger among the elderly than other age groups is that the elderly are substantially overrepresented among the nation's poor.[24]

Sex and Fear of Crime

In survey after survey women as a group are found to be more fearful of crime than other segments of the population. This is true for all age groups. Women are about twice as likely as men to report being afraid.[25] The differences between older women and older men, while substantial, are not as great as the differences which occur between men and women in younger age groups. This increased correlation of elderly men's and women's fear of crime may be a consequence of the perception that in old age men and women do not differ markedly in strength and physical endurance. Both sexes tend to see themselves as vulnerable to attack by the young, strong and agile stranger.

Another possible explanation for the higher levels of fear among older women may be their greater social isolation. Women have longer life expectancies than men and more older women live the last years of their lives alone.

Social Integration

The possible effect of social integration of individuals on the levels of fearfulness is a researchable issue. Social integration is the extent to which a person feels that he or she "belongs" in a neighborhood and is engaged in activities with others as part of their daily lives. For example, does the person have friends and neighbors nearby to assist when in distress? Is there someone to depend on to help with errands and shopping? Are they members of local neighborhood groups, social clubs and organizations? Robert Smith argues that such questions are more important to older Americans who are most vulnerable to victimization than to other persons.[26] Social integration does play an important part in the elderly citizen's perception of his/her safety. Thus, while no research has directly tied the two together, our hypothesis is that high levels of social integration facilitate feelings of safety and that low levels promote fearfulness.

There is some evidence available to support this position. People who own their homes generally tend to have a greater attachment to their neighborhood and to have social contacts with neighbors than others; thus they are more closely integrated into the social structure of the neighborhood. For all age groups, those who live in their own homes tend to be less fearful of crime than are renters.[27] This is particularly significant for older citizens because a higher proportion of them are likely to own their own homes than are younger persons.

The crimes which elderly Americans fear most are personal crimes which involve contact with the criminal. This is the case even though property crime rates for the elderly are higher than rates for personal crimes.

Impact of Fear of Crime on the Elderly

Fear of crime leads elderly persons to "avoidance behaviors" or "mobilization behaviors."[28] If an elderly citizen chooses not to venture outside the house at night, avoids certain parts of the neighborhood, or limits daily activity away from home, this is engaging in "avoidance behaviors." On the other hand, if the individual chooses to take positive steps to avoid victimization, then one is engaging in "mobilization behaviors." Typical mobilization behaviors include: forming neighborhood watch groups, installing good locks on the doors, participating in recreation, shopping, visiting friends, relatives, physicians and other service professionals in the company of others, rather than alone. A more detailed analysis of these two types of behavior follows.

Avoidance Behaviors

Elderly Americans limit their activities to avoid victimization in a large variety of ways. Some refrain from going outside after dark; they avoid "dangerous" areas of the city and/or their nearby neighborhoods.[29] Bishop and Klecka[30] report that some fearful elderly avoid the basements and laundry rooms of their apartment buildings because muggers may lurk there. Other elderly citizens limit their use of parks and other public recreational facilities: many leave these recreational areas before school lets out in the afternoon.[31] Some elderly persons withdraw from community activities which they think might expose them to the risk of victimization.[32] Some senior citizens, after victimization, may even sell their home or business and move to safer quarters.[33]

While not all limitations on the daily lives of the elderly result from fear of crime (some are imposed by failing health or lack of transportation), elderly persons, more than other age groups, limit their activities because they fear crime. Most elderly Americans are not prisoners in their own homes, but many do place extensive limits on their day-to-day activities because they are afraid.[34]

The consequences of the elderly's fear of victimization go beyond limiting their physical mobility. One result is a high level of emotional stress.[35] High stress and loss of mobility can produce the following consequences:

1. Loss of contact with friends, and hence, an increase in isolation;
2. Nutritional and health problems resulting from infrequent trips away from home to purchase necessities;
3. Loss of opportunity for exercise to maintain physical health;
4. A loss of feelings of freedom and self-determination resulting in a lower concept of self; and
5. Emotional crises resulting from relocation and/or other deprivations.[36]

Finally, elderly citizens can develop a debilitating mental disorder because of the constant fear. The result may be institutionalization of the elderly person.[37]

In spite of all these possible negative effects, it should not be assumed that all of the effects of fear of crime are necessarily dysfunctional. Such fear sometimes mobilizes elderly citizens to take steps to protect themselves.

Mobilization Behaviors

The myth of the elderly as weak and powerless is perpetuated if one assumes that all are fearful, and that all senior citizens are paralyzed by that fear, locked away behind barricaded doors. Some elderly take steps to lessen their chances of being victimized. Cook and Associates[38] found that the most commonly employed protective device employed by the elderly was simply using a car to go places. This, however, is not an option open to all elderly Americans. Other seniors go out only with other people, or take something with them for protection — for example, a dog or a weapon.

Some older persons take measures to make their homes more secure. They may install new locks, put bars on windows, or have peep-holes installed in doors. They may commission a security survey of their home, use timers to turn lights on and off when they are away, and permanently mark their portable belongings to discourage theft. Pollack and Patterson[39] examined such "territorial marking behavior" and found that those who utilized this behavior displayed less fear than those persons who did not. Another researcher[40] discovered that older persons were more likely to use multiple home protection measures. These include: outside lights, special locks, window bars, and light timers. (These preventive measures are recommended for use by all residents, according to law enforcement authorities.)

Jaycox, Center and Ansello[41] comment that it is unfortunate that so little attention is given to mobilization behaviors in response to fear of crime. The restrictions elderly Americans place on their daily lives because of fear should not be minimized; however, it is a mistake to believe that they are incapable of positive responses to the perceived threat.

In summary, the effects of fear of crime can touch many different aspects of people's lives. Some persons may simply limit their activities. Others may generalize their fears and become suspicious of all strangers. Those who are fearful may experience stress and accompanying anxiety to such a degree that it produces physical and/or mental illness. Stress and anxiety affects their social interactions and relationships. The potential is to strain associations with spouse, family, friends, service providers and others. For some persons the reaction is suspicion and the behavior is withdrawal. For others it is increased interaction and cooperation with other individuals in order to reduce the perceived threat.

The Reality of the Elderly American's Fear of Crime

Thus far, we have presented summaries of various studies detailing the fearfulness of America's elderly population. Now we will detail the specific dimensions of this fear. The dimensions of fear of crime in the United States are examined in relation to age, sex, location of residence and race.

We have chosen to present data taken from an elaboration analysis[42] performed by Braungart, Braungart and Hoyer.[43] The data were originally collected from a representative sample of Americans in a General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in 1976.

The measure of fearfulness used in this study was based on the standard question "Is there any area right around here — that is, within a mile — where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" To facilitate comparative analysis, the data were grouped: (1) Youth, 18-29 years of age; (2) Middle Age, 30-59 years of age; and (3) Elderly, 60 years of age and older. Table 17 presents the data of fearfulness according to age. The elderly are "only somewhat" (8-9 percent) more fearful than the two younger groups. This situation changes, however, when sex is controlled (Table 18). In every age group, females are substantially more fearful than males. In addition, among males, elderly males display more fear of crime than do the members of the other age groups. The figures for females alone, however, are remarkably similar among the different age groups.

The data are further subdivided in Table 19, controlling for place of residence. Elderly males who live in large urban areas are more fearful than those who live in smaller communities, 41% to 31%. Youth and middle aged groups average 20% fearfulness, with females in every age group and in each locale more fearful than males. Among all age groups, females living in smaller communities are more fearful than those living in large urban areas. These differences, however, are not very large.

Table 20 controls for age, sex, and marital status. Among married women the percent of fearfulness drops with age, from 63% for youth, 57% for middle age, and 50% for elderly. Widowed respondents are much more fearful. Useable data for middle aged and elderly widows indicate 73 and 72 percent respectively. Elderly widowed males have a rate approximately one half the widowed female, 37%. Separated or divorced women have sharper increases than men in percentage of fearfulness when comparing youth, middle age and elderly groups. Among the never married respondents there is change in fearfulness percentages for both males and females. The levels of fear displayed by young males and females are about the same as are found in the general population. However, for both never married middle aged males and females these percentages are highest for all age cohorts and marital statuses.

When age, sex, and living arrangements are controlled new patterns emerge (Table 21). Again, in all age categories, females are consistently more fearful than males. However, the level of fearfulness increases among males living alone. Substantially more males living alone report fear of

crime than do those living with others. A similar relationship exists among middle aged and elderly females.

Blacks are substantially more fearful than whites in every category except young males and females (Table 22). Young black males show a remarkably low level (6 percent) of fearfulness. Compared to young white women black females have a significantly lower level (38%). Elderly male and female blacks, on the other hand, have levels of fearfulness greater than or comparable to those for white elderly females. Black female elderly are the most fearful group.

The data indicate that the elderly as a group are only slightly more likely to express fearfulness of crime than younger groups in our society. It is only when subgroups of the elderly are examined that we understand the full impact of that fear. Sex differences are much more important than age differences. Social factors such as race, marital status, and living arrangements, also distinguish the fearful from the non-fearful. Indeed, these data confirm that city dwellers, black Americans and those who live alone (whether widowed, divorced or never married) are the most fearful.

1. See, for example: O. Adkins, "Crimes Against the Elderly," Police Chief, Vol. 42, 1979, pp. 40-41; Margaret M. Braungart, William J. Hoyer, and Richard G. Braungart, "Fear of Crime and the Elderly," in Arnold P. Goldstein, William J. Hoyer and Phillip J. Monti (eds.), *Police and the Elderly* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1979), pp. 15-29; Frank Clemente and Michael B. Kleinman, "Fear of Crime Among the Aged," *The Gerontologist* Vol. 16 No. 3, 1976, pp. 207-210; Louis Harris and Associates, *The Myth and Reality of Aging in America* (Washington, D.C.: National Council on Aging, 1975); George Sunderland, M. Cox, and B. Stiles, *Law Enforcement and Older Persons* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980).
2. See, for example: Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Fear of Violence and Crime," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 38, 1974, pp. 131-145; Barry D. Lebowitz, "Age and Fearfulness: Personal and Situational Factors," *Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 30, No. 6, 1975, pp. 696-700.
3. Clemente and Kleinmen, op.cit.; Richard A. Sundeen and James T. Mathieu, "The Urban Elderly: Environments of Fear," in Jack Goldsmith and Sharon Goldsmith (eds.), *Crime and the Elderly* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1976, pp. 51-66).
4. Fay L. Cook and Thomas D. Cook, "Evaluating the Rhetoric of Crisis: A Case Study of Criminal Victimization of the Elderly," *Social Service Review*, Vol. 50, 1976, pp. 632-646.
5. Louis Harris and Associates, op.cit.
6. Geoffrey Godbey, Arthur Patterson and Laura Brown, *The Relationship of Crime and Fear of Crime Among the Aged to Leisure Behavior and Use of Public Leisure Services* (Washington, D.C.: The NRTA/AARP Andrus Foundation, 1980).
7. Paul H. Hahn and Elizabeth R. Miller, *Project Search and Inform. Cincinnati-Hamilton County, Ohio, 1979-1980* (Cincinnati OH: Xavier University Graduate Corrections Department, 1980).
8. Fay L. Cook, Wesley G. Skogan, Thomas D. Cook and George Antunes, *Setting and Reformulation Policy Agendas: Criminal Victimization of the Elderly* (New York: Oxford University Press, in press) cited in Victoria H. Jaycox, Lawrence J. Center and Edward F. Anselio, *Effective Responses to the Crime Problem of Older Americans: A Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: The National Council of Senior Citizens, 1982).
9. Stephen J. Cutler, "Safety on the Streets: Cohort Changes in Fear," *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1980, pp. 373-384.
10. Cook, Skogan, Cook and Antunes, op.cit.
11. Wesley G. Skogan, "On Attudes and Behaviors," In Dan Lewis, (ed.), *Reactions to Crime* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981).
12. Wesley G. Skogan, "Crime in Contemporary America," in H. Graham and T.R. Gurr (eds.), *Violence in America*, 2nd Edition (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979).
13. Cook, Skogan, Cook and Antunes, op. cit.
14. Wesley G. Skogan, op. cit., note 11.
15. Braungart, Hoyer and Braungart, op. cit.
16. Sunderland, Cox and Stiles, op. cit.
17. Margaret T. Gordon and Linda Heath, "The News Business, Crime and Fear," in Dan Lewis (ed.), *Reactions to Crime* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981).
18. Ibid.

Programs to Assist the Elderly

There are numerous efforts to assist the elderly in coping with crime. Some are volunteer efforts mounted by the elderly themselves; others are sponsored by the police or the courts; still others by local or federal service agencies and programs. These efforts focus on a variety of objectives and they make use of a broad range of strategies.

One of the major problems faced by older citizens is fear of crime. To some extent, that fear can be minimized by participation in programs aimed to avoid and prevent crimes. Such programs range from such simple expedients as improving window and door hardware of dwellings, to socially-organized crime watch surveillance, and escort services for the elderly.

In spite of these programs elderly people do become victims. A number of programs exist that are designed to provide assistance to victims. Some deal with medical problems. Others try to help victims economically or psychologically. Still others aid them in coping with the complexities of the criminal justice system.

Currently, it is difficult to assess the merits of our society's present efforts to assist the elderly regarding crime. Assistance has increased over the decades but the need for such assistance far exceeds available resources.

Reducing the Elderly's Fear of Crime

Today there is little disagreement among experts that older people *believe* that they are much more at risk. This fear of crime is a serious problem whether or not that fear has a basis in fact. People who are deeply frightened by their immediate environment may live in a social reality of their own making, but for them it is a real and terrifying mode of existence.

Understanding rates of victimization among the aged requires examining a substantial number of statistical studies covering such factors as personal and social circumstances, economic level, educational attainment, race, place of residence, type of neighborhood, and general health. At one extreme, a frail elderly person, living in a high crime neighborhood, may be at risk, either in the streets or even at home. By contrast an affluent individual in good health, living in a protected retirement community, may have virtually no contact with crime. For most elderly persons, the likelihood of victimization is between these extremes. A large proportion of the elderly, however, have low income, education, vigor, and neighborhood security; crime for them is an ever present and disturbing possibility. Overall, the elderly are no more at risk than other residents living in the same neighborhood under the same conditions.

Even in a neighborhood where there is some risk, that risk can be exaggerated so it becomes a serious disadvantage to the person. Believing

one is at risk expressed as excessive fear of crime, may actually induce a greater probability of being victimized. People with exaggerated fear of their surroundings often develop a *fortress mentality*, cutting themselves off from their neighbors and friends, the people who are most likely to come to their aid in an emergency. Hiding in terror behind locked doors with the shades drawn and fearful of every noise is a miserable way of life and a serious threat to physical and mental health. Furthermore, persons who cut themselves off from friends and neighbors may actually make themselves more vulnerable to criminals.[1] A burglar will find a recluse a more inviting target than a person who has neighbors and friends who can raise the alarm.

Few programs are designed to assist the elderly to overcome fear. More often, efforts to reduce fear are part of general programs designed to deter crime. However, under some circumstances working exclusively to reduce fear would have positive benefits. This would be appropriate in cases where there is little factual basis for excessive fear of victimization, and where uncontrolled fear causes unrealistic responses to the environment. The basis for such fear-reduction educational programs would be located in the same realm as those that induce such unrealistic fear in the first place. Beliefs about the high risk of victimization are usually social in origin. Through communication older people share conceptions of reality with other people. Fear is communicated and becomes pervasive; it envelops others. This is a general societal process, not confined to old people. All members of society develop shared interpretations of the physical and social world. They derive their beliefs, meanings, and understandings from informal communication, images portrayed by the mass media, and other facts and fictions communicated to them.[2] If the neighborhood lore is that the area is unsafe, if there are reports that older persons in the neighborhood have been victimized, and if the dangers of crime in areas like theirs are portrayed on TV, elderly persons will develop fears about crime. These fears are likely not to have any relationship to the incidence of crime in their community.

Programs to reduce unrealistic fear of being a victim of crime depend upon the same educational and communication channels that introduce fearful conceptions in the first place. Formal programs of education will have little impact on conceptions of reality built over a long period of time. Transformation of current values and practices by the media, neighborhood groups and informal networks is required to attain any serious modification in current belief systems. Transformation of values, beliefs, and practices is very difficult to achieve. A willingness to change, to act on concerns for the disadvantaged, to do justice where injustice prevails, to enlighten where ignorance exists, requires fundamental changes in being, a restruc ing of reality. It can be done, but unfortunately few programs have the interest or staff capability or courage to effect such major changes on the psyche and senses, agency policies and practices, or to give up false perceptions of reality.

Preventing Crimes Against the Elderly

An array of official and unofficial programs and procedures have been formulated and tried in efforts to help the aged reduce their likelihood of victimization.[3] Some appear to result in significant reduction in crimes against the elderly. Others are more difficult to assess, but may make older persons feel more secure and reduce their fear of crime.

Essentially, these many efforts represent attempts to achieve three basic goals:

1. to reduce opportunities for individuals to carry out crimes successfully;
2. to increase the participation of elderly persons in programs which improve home surveillance and protection; and
3. to increase understanding of how criminals operate in order to avoid or manage risk situations.

Attempts to achieve these goals have taken many forms. They may be official programs sponsored or managed by the police; they may be group activities conducted by voluntary associations of citizens; or they may be efforts on the part of informal groups of neighbors or individuals. Generally, procedures for reducing opportunities for criminals to carry out their activities successfully are based on a *physical* approach to increasing security. Better locks, stronger doors, installation of alarms, or engraving property with identification numbers can limit criminal success. Increasing interaction and communication among the elderly in efforts to improve surveillance and provide safety in numbers is a *social* approach accomplished through various kinds of groups and organizations. Finally, raising awareness of what situations are dangerous, or how to manage them if unavoidable, is accomplished at the *individual* level through training and education. Each of these three approaches is now reviewed.

Reducing Opportunities for Criminal Invasion

There are three ways to deter criminals using physical means. One is through the installation of secure hardware to make breaking in more difficult. A second is to provide clear identification of items if they are stolen. Engraving numbers on valuable items makes them more difficult to fence. A third is to modify dwellings or grounds to eliminate situations which are attractive to criminals and aid their invasion of residence.

HARDWARE: Providing deadbolts on doors, stronger locks, security pins on windows, an electric alarm, a safe or a security retreat are effective procedures or systems to reduce vulnerability to criminal invasion of a building or dwelling. Security experts refer to such measures as "hardening the target." It is a recommended procedure *if* the money to install it is available. Unfortunately, installing protective devices is a significant problem for elderly people with limited incomes. For example, a good quality alarm system in a modest dwelling can cost thousands of dollars. Changing

locks on all the doors and windows in a home or apartment can be a significant expense. Installing locking pins in windows is a less costly procedure as is a strong bolt on the inside of the door. While a really determined criminal can break through any door or window, regardless of the locks, most of them prefer situations where they can enter easily and quietly.

To help offset the costs, many communities provide assistance to elderly people in purchasing, and if necessary installing more adequate security hardware. Given the benefits of these procedures in deterring criminal invasion, such programs should be expanded in all communities in the United States.

IDENTIFICATION OF PROPERTY: "Operation Identification" or "Operation I.D." is a useful approach to reduce vulnerability to burglary. The procedure is to engrave an identification number on all valuable personal items. A driver's license or social security number is often used. The purpose is to deter the criminal by making stolen goods more difficult to dispose of profitably. A prominent sticker is usually displayed on the dwelling to indicate that the occupants participate in the program. Presumably, this discourages the criminal to attempt a break-in.

The tools required to do the engraving are usually available from public or volunteer agencies. However, there are many items that cannot be engraved, such as jewelry, silverware, china, furs, or the family pet; these can be photographed. Serial numbers of expensive items such as cameras, TV receivers, home computers, or stereo equipment, can be recorded. All such information including photographs, should be stored in a safe place — preferably not in a dwelling. All such identification procedures make the items less attractive to a potential thief and the property more easily recoverable if a burglary does take place.

This program works. Alan Malinchak cites a report from the St. Paul, Minnesota Police Department.[4] In 1974, more than 150 police and sheriff's departments in that state participated in Operation Identification. Reports received from those departments indicate that the probability of burglary was substantially lower in dwellings displaying the warning signs and participating in the program. In St. Paul, for example, of the 9,200 enrollees only 41 were burglarized during the period under study. During the same two years 12,000 burglaries occurred in the city and the rate for non-participants was substantially higher.

SPACE DESIGN OR MODIFICATION: Dwellings or other buildings often have places where criminals can hide. Improving a residence to make it safe may be easy or difficult, and varies in cost. For example, cutting bushes to eliminate a potential hiding place near an entranceway is cheap and effective. Lighting dark and recessed areas properly is a low cost improvement. Modifying a hallway to improve visibility is both costly and time consuming. Nevertheless, the security conscious individual must consider such measures if affordable.

Social Approaches

Two consequences of urban life that work in favor of criminals are the "alienation" and "anomie" of so many of its residents. Alienation is unconcern about others and what happens to them; it is a strong feeling of not being part of society. Also many persons identified as alienated are unsure of what is expected of them. They do not understand the rules for intervening in a crime situation, whether to report criminal acts or even if they should take steps to prevent crime. In action, taking the position that what happens is "none of my business" is a component of anomie.

In cities, residents of an apartment house may remain strangers for years, even though they live next door or across the hall from each other. Even in suburban areas neighbors may be unknown to each other. If a suspicious stranger is seen under such conditions, there are no clear guidelines as to what should be done. Criminals find this convenient because it permits them to move freely and anonymously through a building or an area.

By contrast, in a building or neighborhood where everyone knows everyone else, the stranger stands out. If that stranger attempts to commit a crime, he very likely will be challenged. People who know and are concerned about each other watch out for one another. This provides a very effective early warning system for identifying potential intruders, tracking their activities and summoning help if a crime is in progress. Social approaches to deterring criminal activity include volunteer patrols and neighborhood surveillance clubs to watch for criminal activity in their neighborhoods. Escort services and telephone networks are also popular and increasing in incidence. The basic idea underlying all such efforts is neighbor helping neighbor in their mutual goal of greater security.

High levels of communication and interaction among neighbors has the effect of promoting feelings of unity or cohesion. If neighbors get together to help each other do something about crime, the chances are that they will get together to do something about other problems. If this happens, living in the neighborhood is likely to become more satisfying. The development of heightened neighborhood activity over concerns of mutual interest may also reverse the trend of high crime rates in some areas.

An older person living in an impersonal and uncaring environment, one described as anomic, is at risk more than another older person active in a network of concerned neighbors. A neighborhood where people are engaged in mutual assistance and addressing common problems, provides elderly residents not only with a sense of confidence and security, but also a sense of belonging, rootedness and identity.

CITIZEN PATROLS: A volunteer group of citizens can provide a significant extension to the surveillance routinely provided by the police. There are at least three types of volunteer citizen patrols: 1) Building or tenant patrols are organized within a particular apartment house or condominium; 2) Foot patrols provide surveillance in a specific neighborhood; and 3) car patrols cover a section of a community or residential area. The purpose of such patrols is to detect and report suspicious activities to the police.

All authorities stress that volunteers serving on patrols should not try to intervene and stop criminal activities or to detain suspects, short of life-threatening situations. The key to effective patrols is communication. The patrol serves as observers for the police. The authorities can be summoned quickly by radio or telephone. Many communities provide such patrols and the police can be contacted immediately on monitored frequencies. In some communities a radio link is established with a centrally located volunteer who calls the police. The limitation of this type of social approach is cost. For foot patrols the purchase and maintenance of radio equipment may be a factor. The costs associated with operating automobiles for car patrols can be substantial. Some municipalities subsidize such efforts. In other locations, voluntary contributions support this activity. Patrols are one form of activity effective in reducing criminal opportunities.

CITIZEN SURVEILLANCE GROUPS: The most common volunteer surveillance system is the "neighborhood Crime Watch." A Crime Watch program is effective in restricting the freedom of criminals to move through an area. Neighbors can watch each other's residence and surrounding area, and call the police if they see any suspicious individuals. In some organizations, elderly residents who are suspicious that skullduggery is occurring may call a designated member, who in turn reports to the police. Such groups often have meetings or social events so that neighbors can meet one another and learn to identify their neighbors apart from strangers. The crime watch activity is ideally suited for older citizens who are home most of the time, and who enjoy keeping an eye on their neighbors.

TELEPHONE BASED PROJECTS: There are a number of telephone patterns used in crime prevention activities. One is a regularly scheduled *telephone assurance* check. Volunteers regularly call residents, especially the elderly, to check and see if they are well. Such regularly scheduled telephone calls can assist with crime prevention and in uncovering medical emergencies or other types of difficulties for which people may need the services of outside agencies. They also help in building neighborhood cohesion, which is an important basis for sustaining other anti-crime efforts.

ESCORT SERVICE: For frail or apprehensive elderly persons a volunteer escort from the neighborhood to assist them in shopping or visiting the doctor is truly appreciated. In a well-developed program a central telephone number is provided to match requests with volunteers. The person to be escorted is contacted before the volunteer actually arrives so that the elderly individual knows whom to expect. An identifying emblem, armband, or even a simple ID card is used by the escort. In many programs the escort may provide other types of services, such as assistance in banking, dealing with public agencies, utility companies or making referrals to social agencies. Escort services are particularly important in cases where older people have been victimized previously, or are handicapped, frail and physically vulnerable. Escorts greatly reduce fear and anxiety.

SIGNALLING: This approach to crime prevention involves providing older citizens with a whistle or air horn that can be used to summon help on the street or at home.

However, the effectiveness of such a procedure depends upon prior understandings and agreements among nearby residents in the neighborhood. The use of the signal means that a problem exists and that a proper response is to investigate immediately. Otherwise, the noise is one more addition to an already noisy environment!

POLICE OR AGENCY-SPONSORED PROGRAMS: Social service agencies as well as the police sponsor, encourage, or operate a number of programs intended to prevent crimes against elderly citizens. One example is the provision of expert speakers for clubs, church groups, and other organizations. These specialists explain various aspects of criminal behavior and crime prevention techniques that can be used by older people and their families and friends. A well-prepared speaker can educate elderly citizens in various criminal practices and confidence games used to separate older people from their money. The old "pigeon drop" and "bank examiner" scams are still being used daily to fleece elderly victims.

Another effective strategy is to expose and teach people to be aware of typical consumer frauds to which the elderly are particularly vulnerable. Thses include home repair operations, insurance frauds, medical quackery, fake hearing aid sales, phone land schemes, fly-by-night funeral swindles, and mail fraud. Efforts to educate older citizens against such hazards include not only speakers but films, pamphlets, media presentations, seminars, and formal courses.

Finally, some police departments provide special training for dealing with complaints and requests for services from the elderly. This is a very important issue and it will be discussed at greater length in a later section. The central problem is that older people may react differently to crises than younger individuals.[8] They may be more emotional, angry, and even abusive to an officer after being victimized. Training officers to anticipate and understand such reaction patterns aids them in dealing with the situation fairly and effectively.

Individual Approaches

Crime prevention is an individual as well as a social responsibility. One of the most effective approaches to limiting the impact of crime on the elderly is to teach them to look after themselves. The individual can take a number of steps to substantially reduce the probability of becoming a victim. Some of these steps represent simple precautions at home, shopping, or walking on the street. Others are more complex personal behavior patterns that can be learned by older citizens.

LEARNING TO AVOID RISK SITUATIONS: Even walking down the street involves a risk in almost every environment. In a less desirable city neighborhood, the risk may be high. Nevertheless, the individual can *reduce* risk substantially, by using common sense. Older people should not walk alone in neighborhoods with high crime rates. There *is* safety in numbers. If walking alone is unavoidable, they should be on the side of the street so that they face oncoming cars. This can reduce the risk of an attack from a car approaching from behind. An older person should

avoid walking through or in front of a group of young males standing about; older persons should also avoid dark streets, alleys, and vacant lots. Talk to strangers should be restricted. In a store or bank, "flashing" money will signal a potential thief of an opportunity to mug or steal a purse; wearing conspicuous jewelry or expensive watches may produce the same consequence. When in danger, the individual should immediately enter a store if possible and call the police. If accosted, the older person is advised to scream loudly.

Failing to lock an auto's doors while driving or after parking invites trouble. High crime areas of a city should be avoided. Packages or valuable objects in view in locked automobiles encourage break-ins. Parking in a dark area makes it easier for a criminal to attack even at home. Getting in and out of the car represents a period of relative vulnerability at one's home. Programs that teach older people how to increase their level of security focus on such problems.

Public transportation in some cities is unsafe for elderly persons; especially for the person who travels alone. If a companion is unavailable, sitting next to the driver, a security officer, or other passenger is advised. Waiting areas or departure ramps pose additional risks. Older people are advised to avoid isolated or poorly lighted waiting areas, and if suspicious looking people are in the area it is best to leave, or if on a train or bus, to continue to a safer stop.

DEFENSIVE TRAINING: The stories of an 80-year-old granny driving off an assailant with a stout umbrella or the elderly gentleman defending himself with a few well-place karate chops are more myth than truth. In reality such attempts to handle the criminal are more likely to end in disaster than victory. An aged person is relatively defenseless against a tough young opponent. Yet, there are some situations when defensive actions, especially by younger persons, are a sensible choice. Defensive training, however, is a complicated and serious undertaking, and not feasible for most older people. The individual in robust physical condition can reduce the prospect of being hurt. Actions include running away, limiting damage from blows by learning to protect vital parts of the body, and using psychological procedures to create fear or sympathy in the attacker, depending on the condition, intentions, and characteristics of the violator(s). The objective is to make it difficult for an attacker to inflict serious harm. Defense programs of this type involve only a small number of older people. Also there is controversy as to whether resources invested in such counterattack measures can best be spent for other types of protective measures more likely to result in a successful outcome.

IMAGE MANAGEMENT: Not "looking like" a good prospect for victimization is a viable means to prevent it occurring. This is image management. The task is to train individuals to manage their demeanor and personal apppearance in areas where crimes are likely to occur. Assumptions underlying this approach are that criminals are attracted to people who appear uneasy, frightened, weak, or nervous. The logic is that people who exhibit such states possess valuables and are worried about their safety. It follows that criminals tend to avoid people who appear to be confident,

potentially aggressive, and sure of themselves. These hypotheses remain to be tested but they still have an attractive surface validity. Even if the hypotheses are proved to be unfounded in empirical truth, accepting such attitudes and appropriate behaviors will make the elderly person *feel* more secure. Reducing fear of crime among the elderly has positive value in itself.

Assisting Elderly Victims of Crime

When an older person becomes a victim of a crime one likely consequence is economic difficulty. Another is physical injury and still another, psychological damage. Even if the victim is not physically hurt, coping with the complexities of police reports, and the workings of the criminal justice system, can be a shocking and bewildering experience. For such reasons, a number of programs today aid the elderly in seeking financial compensation or other economic assistance, coping with the criminal justice system, and dealing with the psychological effects of victimization.

VICTIM COMPENSATION: The loss of a pension or social security check, or even a small amount of cash, can have devastating consequences for an older person on a fixed income. The consequences may be the inability to obtain food, shelter, and critical medical needs. The loss of property and possessions, such as a television set or a radio, usually results in a reduction of life satisfaction. The elderly person, especially the very poor, cannot purchase a replacement. Even more devastating are those cases where elderly people are duped out of their life's savings by con artists and swindlers.

Providing economic assistance to elderly victims of crime is limited. A few public and private agencies do help, but cannot meet the great need. At present, some 34 states have victim compensation laws. However, their programs are not aimed to help the elderly solely. Funds are limited and are used primarily to provide for medical care and lost wages for individuals injured by criminals. Established human service agencies have been slow to respond with viable programs to aid the victims of crime. The reallocation of agency priorities to include one which provides short and long term assistance to victims has yet to occur.

Some church groups have earmarked funds for assisting victims. Church programs are not well-publicized. Specific inquiries have to be made of each church group in one's community. Church groups that do have such programs usually provide loans, cash grants, or emergency funds to older victims with minimal delay or documentation. Caring for the downtrodden is in consonance with the religious belief that all humans are God's children and need to be cared for when in crisis or stress. Churches may be the source of viable assistance programs for elderly victims of crime in the foreseeable future.

Public agencies advise older persons who become victims to contact landlords, utility companies, or other institutions expecting payments, apprise them of the situation, and request a delayed payment plan. Most agencies and institutions are cooperative.

If a victim has been physically injured not only must routine economic requirements be met but the costs of medical care as well, those extras not covered by medicaid, medicare, and other third party payer programs. Also, an older person may have difficulties in getting to a doctor's office or a hospital for outpatient care. Cooking and doing housework may be severly limited. Fortunately, many communities have volunteer programs, or tax-supported service agencies to help elderly victims who are recovering from injuries. Some provide specific home services; others offer home visits by friendly and companionate persons or visiting nurses. Some programs are restricted to transportation for the elderly or to the provision of daily meals, e.g., "Meals on Wheels."

COPING WITH THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM: an older person does become victimized, the individual encounters the police, the prosecutor's office, and the courts — assuming that a suspect is apprehended. Each of these encounters produces unique difficulties for the older victim, and a number of programs have been designed to assist the elderly.

POLICE: The first representative of the criminal justice system seen by the victim is the investigating police officer. Most police officers are sympathetic to the elderly when they become victims and are concerned over their welfare. However, the majority have had no special training in relating to older victims. An elderly person who has been robbed, beaten, raped, or otherwise abused may be neither polite nor patient. In fact, they may be demanding, abusive, and verbally aggressive. Hence, the initial period after an incident can be difficult for both parties. Police officers who have not had specific training in dealing with elderly victims may make many mistakes in responding to the injured person. They may become angry and disinterested in the case if abuse is seen to be directed at them personally, rather than being a predictable consequence of trauma.

The current pattern of training officers may contribute to this hiatus in understanding and relationships between responding officers and elderly victims. The majority of the police in the United States are trained to be *law-enforcement* oriented rather than *service-oriented.* The major objectives of police training are to stop crime, investigate criminal incidents, and apprehend violators. Historically, this is the definition of "real" police work. Under a service-oriented conception of police work, officers are not only trained in law enforcement, but in social relations. In addition to learning how to shoot, make arrests, and manage suspects, they become competent to help families resolve their difficulties, to refer family members to specialized community services, and work to improve police-citizen relationships in local neighborhoods and communities.

Currently, an increasing number of police departments focus on law enforcement and service. In the absence of such training, however, a large number of elderly victims report serious dissatisfaction with the procedures used by police in investigating their situation. Friction between the police officer and the elderly victim is not unusual.

Overall, the majority of police officers are personally concerned about older victims, and elderly citizens have a basic respect for law enforcement and the police. As more police systems move toward "full service" policing, to include both the law enforcement and service orientations, many of the problems that currently exist for older victims, as well as for the police, will be reduced.

THE PROSECUTOR AND THE COURT: The actions of prosecutors' offices and the courts are often incomprehensible to the general public and especially to elderly victims. Aged persons may have considerable difficulty participating in hearings and trials because of physical imfirmity, lack of money, transportation problems, or failure to understand what is expected of them.[6] When a court action becomes complicated through continuances, appeals, or other legal proceedings that delay a trial, repeated participation may be all but impossible for older people with no one to assist them.

Proposals have been made whereby the courts develop programs so that all victims receive fair treatment.[7] These range from permitting elderly victims and witnesses to testify via deposition without a personal appearance in court, to waiting at home until they are actually scheduled to appear and give testimony. Also advocated, but seldom implemented, are proposals to provide victims with full but clearly written explanations of the disposition of their cases. Expression of appreciation by the court for their participation is also recommended.

Some of these new procedures are being implemented. A number of prosecutors' offices routinely inform victims regarding the progress of their cases, by letter or by telephone. With microcomputers becoming increasingly available, the technology for handling such information routinely will increase and costs will be reduced.

The American Bar Association's Section on Criminal Justice made the following suggestions to law enforcement officials and the courts in 1980: (a) the provision of a central telephone number for victims or witnesses to use to obtain current information on their cases; (b) a systemized procedure to notify victims and witnesses of significant developments in their cases, e.g., continuances, guilty pleas, final adjudication; (c) a social service referral system; (d) a victim/witness reception center in the court buildings; (e) trained individuals to answer questions of victims or witnesses; and (f) the use of a standardized questionnaire to assess problems of victims that should be addressed by the court. If all court systems adopt these recommendations it would result in a vastly improved criminal justice system involving the elderly victim.

THE AFTER EFFECTS: The physical and psychological impact of victimization on an older person can be divided into two general phases: the immediate and long term effects. These consequences will be different, depending on a number of factors. These include type of crime, original condition of the victim, nature and extent of physical injuries (if any), and the victim's beliefs as to what the police and courts do about the situation.

Psychologists have made extensive studies of the reactions of victims, especially to crimes against the person.[8] They suggest that these crimes represent an assault on the individual's innermost *self*, the person's deepest feelings and evaluations of his or her own worth. Even a burglary, with no physical harm to the victim, is often perceived as an assault on the self. The person feels violated by the invasion of the home. In a symbolic sense, it represents an assault on the self.

More serious, of course, are crimes where the individual is physically battered. A street mugging induces strong feelings of violation of the self. A forcible rape with battery can produce an overwhelmming feeling of violation of the self and a destruction of self esteem with associated guilt, stress and anxiety.

If a person has been victimized away from home, there is a sense that he or she might have some control over future assaults by avoiding the locale in which it took place, or areas similar to it. Being victimized at home, however, leaves the person no place to go, and brings with it a heightened sense of powerlessness and vulnerability.

People of all ages must cope with the subsequent psychological trauma of victimization. Coping occurs in three phases. The first phase, the *immediate impact,* occurs during the first hours after the individual has been victimized. During this time the person experiences feelings of personal fragmentation, as if in a state of shock. The sudden wrenching of the individual from a tranquil, orderly, and predictable state of existence to a condition of bodily damage and psychological feelings of self-violation may leave the victim disoriented and seriously in need of assistance and direction from others, even for the simplest tasks.

The second phase soon follows. The *process of recoil* starts to replace the initial shock. It is the beginning of coping and recovery. It may be the most painful and difficult phase for the victim. Many victims indulge in self blame; they conclude that what happened is because they were unworthy in some way. They feel guilt and shame. They become discouraged and conclude that they may never recover. As painful as it may be, it is from this low point of hopelessness that the victim begins the process of recovery. The event is placed in perspective and the victim sees the process of recovery ahead. There may be some backsliding — feeling better and more hopeful at one time and discouraged and ashamed at another. But once the process of recoil has been experienced, the victim moves to the third phase.

Finally, the third stage is one of *reorganization.* As physical wounds heal the damage to the psyche also recedes. The psychological organization of the victim improves as fear, guilt, anxiety, and shame begin to subside. The person slowly returns to the normal patterns of life and the episode becomes a memory. The rapidity and degree of this recovery and reorganization depend on several factors, including the seriousness of the crime and the depth of the psychological impact on the victim. For those already physically and psycologically vulnerable, a violent crime such as rape may seriously impair the individual's ability to cope with the everyday problems of living. The individual may never recover.

Programs to assist victims with the after effects of crime must be based on sound psychological and sociological knowledge of the impact of crises on individuals and their life patterns. They must also be based on common sense understandings of the perspectives of ordinary people caught in catastrophic events not of their choosing or making. Unfortunately, even well-intentioned professionals and workers of human service agencies and institutions trying to assist victims can mismanage their roles:[9]

> "In his zeal to make an arrest, a police officer drove an injured robbery victim around in a police cruiser for three hours looking for the mugger before taking the victim to the hospital for treatment of a serious scalp laceration.
>
> A hospital clerk bureaucratically refused to allow a stabbing victim to sit down in an emergency room cubicle until he produced his Blue Cross Medical Insurance Card.
>
> A doctor walked into an emergency room waiting area and shouted, 'O.K., we're very busy here tonight. Which one of you is the rape?'
>
> A rape counselor, objecting to the fact that a male officer responded to the crime and not realizing his reasons for asking the victim questions regarding her menstrual period, told the victim not to answer and argued openly with the officer. The two 'professionals' then engaged in a screaming match in the victim's presence.
>
> A prosecutor cost a 'Good Samaritan' witness his job by keeping him in court for two weeks under subpoena in a case which was finally adjudicated by a plea bargain without ever requiring the testimony of the witness. When asked by a police officer to intercede with the witness's boss, he replied that it 'was not his job,' and he was too busy."

Obviously, the training of the individuals who committed these blunders did not include exposure to a philosophy of treating the victim first to heal physical and psychological wounds, and then to handle the needs of the institution, such as accountability, order, form, and payment. It is obvious that more effort is required to develop programs not only to prevent bodily injury against the elderly, or to assist them in recovering property, but to treat the post crime state with sensitivity, caring, and understanding. The move in the direction of not blaming the victim should be encouraged and be an essential component of any policy for the training of helping professionals.

Assessment

One observation which emerges from the analysis of programs to assist the elderly in coping with crime, is that none of these efforts is completely satisfactory. Most programs do provide some benefits for some people at one time or another. However, none shield the elderly from hardship. Older adults still fear crime. They continue to be victimized and suffer the negative consequences of that experience.

Yet, improvements in treatment of victims have been made. Many of the programs are providing meaningful assistance and are worthwhile. However, they are too few and reach only a small proportion of the people who need help. It is regrettably true that sometimes error, ignorance, or arrogance by the surrogates of care subvert their own efforts to help the victim. But these instances are few and do not detract from the overall efforts to provide assistance to older people. Thus, one need not condemn present programs for being less than perfect any more than we need to applaud them as holding and implementing the correct solutions to the problems of the elderly victims of crime.

One question which emerges is whether current programs to assist the elderly can be improved? The answer is yes, provided current policies of services to the downtrodden and poor are re-examined and modified to meet the changing age composition of our society. A reallocation of exist ing resources, along with a judicious increase in neighborhood and community based services and activities with new monies, should be sufficient to meet the safety needs of a growing elderly population. As Americans over age 65 become an important political force in the society, service agency transformations will occur as demanded by a politically conscious and participant older population.

Even if unlimited resources were available for various programs to prevent or ameliorate the consequences of victimization, the majority of the elderly may continue to fear being victimized by crime. This difficulty stems from the structure and functions of various institutions and political/governmental entities in our society. In a highly complex society it is difficult for a federal government to insure that nationally decreed programs will be implemented on a local level. Ours remains a society of small urban villages, farms, and communities within large metropolitan areas. We have a *local* society in matters related to crime and victimimzation — including problems of the elderly. Assisting the elderly in coping more effectively with crime is and must be organized in a manner similar to the criminal justice system. As Max Lerner pointed out, more than twenty years ago:

> "A lawbreaker is tracked down by local police, prosecuted by a local district attorney and defended by a local lawyer, tried in a local court house in a trial reported predominantly in the local press, convicted or cleared by a local jury, sentenced by a local judge, and shut up in a local or state prison. At every point there is a good deal of bungling, prejudice, poor judgment, or corruption. Yet on the whole there is a widespread feeling that the results are tolerably good and that the frailties of the whole process are a reflection of the frailties of the society in which it takes place."[10]

It is difficult to say with certainty just how this perspective applies to the development of programs to help the elderly, given the high incidence of crime in today's society. Helping the elderly is a local matter as the effort is presently constituted, and the limitations and problems associated with existing local programs are legion.

Yet, achieving perfection in the system probably has about the same chance as getting the criminal justice system to operate on a completely rational and efficient basis. There is no doubt however that the security, sense of well being, and reduction of fear of victimization could be improved for the elderly.

Yet, these humanitarian concerns of older citizens would have to be balanced against the concerns and needs of other legitimate claimants to the resources and energies of the community and society. But if the past is any guide to the future, the distribution of financial support to various segments of the society will probably be correlated with their relative political power. In a society in which the proportion of people who are elderly is increasing, it seems clear that efforts to meet their needs will continue to be on the increase.

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The Elderly Offender

Most crime in the United States is committed by young people. However, a number of elderly people are arrested every year for a variety of offenses. Of the nearly eight million persons taken into custody by the police every year, two hundred thousand or 2.5% are sixty years old or older.[1] These include crimes against persons and property (excluding traffic offenses). Since the proportion of the American population in the older age categories is increasing, and it is now estimated that some 16 percent of the total population is sixty or over, the 2.5% taken into custody is far below what would be expected given the size of the elderly population and other age cohorts.

In interpreting these arrest figures consider first that they are not without error. The FBI's statistics are not a valid measure of the amount of crime that occurs annually in the United States. They reflect arrests for crimes reported to the police. Many crimes go undetected, others are not reported, and a substantial number are not cleared by arrest even if they are reported. Furthermore, it is possible that the police may handle minor crimes committed by elderly persons informally. Therefore, such crimes would not appear in official reports. We know that the police do this with the very young who are first offenders. We can conceive of the elderly being let off easily with a similar light remonstrance, "Go home Grandpa (Grandma) and don't do this again. You are old enough to know better." Nonetheless, the data provided by the UCR, with the limitation of crimes reported to the police and entered by them into the record, still constitute the most accurate picture of the relative distribution of arrests between young and old on a national basis.

A second problem is that the raw figures reporting the number of arrests annually by age and type of crime need to be transformed into *rates*. Rates provide the incidence of a particular crime for various age cohorts and are usually established by determining the percent or number committing the criminal act for every one hundred thousand persons, in the age cohort. The rates of most common crimes have been calculated by the age of persons arrested (see Table 24).

A rough comparison of the relative distribution of arrests between young and old can be obtained by examining the following: For violent crimes, teenagers (15-19) in 1980 had a rate of 561 arrests per one hundred thousand persons of that age category in the United States. For young adults (20-24) the comparable rate was 530. In contrast, the rate of arrests for violent crimes per one hundred thousand older persons (60-64) was only 28. For the more elderly (65 and over) it was only 12. Involvement in violent crime by the elderly, in other words, is very insignificant when compared with teenagers and young adults.

In the case of less serious offenses elderly persons have far fewer arrests than all other age groups. For property crimes in 1980, teenagers had an arrest rate of 3,228 and young adults 1,577 per one hundred thousand in the population. By contrast, the arrest rates for persons 60-64 for property crimes during the same year was 103 per one hundred thousand in the population. For those 65 and over the rate dropped to 53.

Even though the incidence of crime is greater for younger than older cohorts, the nearly two hundred thousand older citizens who are arrested annually for various offenses cannot be ignored. Their transgressions range from minor crimes, such as public drunkenness, to serious offenses, including murder. They cause special problems for all concerned — themselves, their families and communities.

Aside from the fact that the public has a feeling of regret that an aged person has to be confined in prison for his or her few remaining years, there are a number of other issues. The police are not accustomed to dealing with older persons.[2] Older defendants have difficulties in coping with the demands of a trial.[3] Jails and prisons are designed and operated for the young offender and older ones often cannot adjust to the demands of this system.[4] At the same time, all of the agencies of the criminal justice system have difficulty in dealing with the special problems posed by older individuals.

Adding to the confusion is the fact that full and reliable information is difficult to obtain on the elderly offender. Public records are often incomplete or misleading, research findings often appear to be contradictory, and conclusions of experts are often difficult to separate from their personal biases.

Within the limitations of available data and official practices regarding the aged offender we examine who are the older offenders, the crimes they commit, why they violate the law, what happens to them in confinement, and what policies need to be considered in these circumstances.

Who are They?

A detailed, accurate and comprehensive description of the social characteristics of aged offenders in the United States is unavailable. Some information is available from state and federal sources concerning older persons incarcerated in penitentiaries. However, since many of the crimes committed by elderly persons result in their detention in local jails, rather than state or federal facilities, obtaining accurate counts poses an insurmountable problem. There currently are approximately 3,500 city, county and regional jails in the United States. Also, about 40,000 different police agencies have a detention facility. These agencies do not keep records so that age and social characteristics of detainees can readily be described.

From the sources that are available, partial information can be obtained, and some tentative conclusions can be reached concerning the general characteristics of elderly offenders.[5] Elderly offenders do not seem to differ greatly from their more youthful counterparts. Males are far more heavily represented among the elderly offenders than females. Blacks are

disproportionately represented, considering their relative numbers in the American population. No major differences appear that separate young and old regarding occupational status. The aged and the young alike among offenders tend to be limited in educational achievement. The elderly offenders are much like their youthful counterparts, except that they are older.

Among women in prison, the older age group contains disproportionately larger numbers of both white and Indian women. By contrast, black and hispanic women in prison tend to be younger. One source attributes this imbalance to the increased incidence of murder (often of the husband) among the latter categories.[6] Even so, the numbers are so small that statistically significant comparisons cannot be made.

In summary, elderly offenders are like younger offenders. Because they lived longer, their state of health, occupational histories, marital experience, and educational achievement reflect earlier generational experiences. Yet, their similarities to their younger counterparts are more striking than their differences.

What Crimes have They Committed?

The elderly offenders are not major perpetrators of violent crimes. Table 24 shows that even children between ten and fourteen years of age have higher rates of violent offenses. Their rate is 110 per one hundred thousand compared to elderly persons sixty five or over who have a combined rate of only 12 per one hundred thousand. The most dangerous category of citizens are those between ages twenty and twenty-four. In 1980 they had an arrest rate of 530 for violent crimes. This is more than forty-six times higher than the rate for the elderly!

The majority of crimes of the elderly, then, are in the less serious and dangerous categories. In spite of this there is a belief among some that the elderly are likely to commit murder, or other serious offenses. But when this does happen, the event is likely to attract a considerable amount of attention from the press — usually considerably more than for a similar crime committed by a younger person. Such differential media attention may be an important factor in leading some members of the public to believe that there is a high rate of violent crime committed by the elderly. The facts do not support such a conclusion.

Table 25 shows a list of specific crimes for which persons in the United States were arrested during 1980. Included in the table is a column showing the number and percent of the elderly who were involved in these offenses. While arrest data do not provide a true picture of all crime in a given year, they are probably the best data for comparing crime rates of the elderly with other age cohorts.

Disorderly conduct is the most frequent offense for which persons sixty-five and over were arrested — more than a third (37.26 percent) of all arrests of the elderly were in this category. Disorderly conduct is not an easy category to interpret. Included are such offenses as loud and boisterous behavior, aggressive acts, quarrels and family disputes, and activities that are disruptive of the public peace. Some disorderly conduct may be life

threatening and some is merely annoying. Police will book the disorderly. It is a traditional practice, that provides data for their records and demonstrates that they are fulfilling their roles as police officers, in much the same way as do high levels of traffic violation ticketing in a community. In a very large proportion of such disorderly conduct arrests, the perpetrators are under the influence of alcohol. Alcohol plays a significant role in the problems elderly people have with the law.

It is interesting to compare the percent of the elderly arrested for disorderly conduct with the comparable figures for the entire population (left column of Table 25). The figure for all age groups together is 12.43 percent — those aged sixty-five or over have an arrest rate for disorderly conduct that is three times higher.

More significant, because it is one specific offense, is the percent of those arrested sixty-five or over who are apprehended for driving under the influence of alcohol. This behavior accounts for nearly twenty-nine percent of all arrests for those sixty-five or over. The comparable figure for all age groups is almost half — 15 percent. Given that age takes its toll on reaction time, vision, hearing and critical reflexes, this situation poses real problems. The older driver is considerably more likely to be arrested for drunken driving than persons in other mature age groups. Most citizens think of drunken driving as exclusively a problem among youth. It is a substantial problem among senior citizens as well.

It is likely that the percent of arrests of persons sixty-five or over for driving under the influence of liquor will increase. In the past it has not been unusual for police officers to handle drunk driving situations involving older persons in an informal manner.[7] With a new national emphasis on removing such drivers from the road and an increasing public awareness of their danger, more and more cases of driving while intoxicated will be resolved formally by arrest. We are likely to see this type of offense increase sharply in public records.

Another serious problem is shoplifting. Table 25 shows that arrests for larceny (largly shoplifting) occur more frequently among older people than among all age categories. It is believed that shoplifting is an offense mainly involving professionals and teenagers. Teenagers do account for a substantial number of arrests for this offense. However, senior citizens are highly active. Unlike the teenager, their stealing may be motivated by reasons other than the urge to stay in fashion or to sell what they take for profit, but they are heavily involved nevertheless.

Change is taking place in the responses of both merchants and the public to shoplifting. In earlier years, store owners and managers were reluctant to prosecute elderly offenders. More recently, as losses through shoplifting have mounted, the situation has changed. Shoplifting is seen by merchants as a clear threat to their survival in economically uncertain times. Many measures have been taken to reduce it, including vigorous programs of prosecution. Also, it is becoming easier to prosecute this offense. In many jurisdictions there is no need to arrest the person in front of other customers and parade them away in handcuffs. They can be served

by summons. In other words, with greater economic pressure to stop it, a more sympathetic public on the side of the merchant, and with simpler legal procedures for prosecuting, there is every likelihood that this category will become an increasing problem for the elderly.

Conspicuous by their very limited occurrence are sex offenses among the elderly. The sterotype of the dirty old man exposing himself by opening his raincoat is perpetrated by many media cartoons and television comedies. Similarly, the idea of the older sex degenerate molesting little girls has an established place in the minds of the public. While such behavior is not unknown, it is extremely limited among the elderly.

The elderly are also minimally involved with illicit drugs. The percent of arrests for all age categories is 6.31, more than six times as large as that for those sixty-five and over, 1.01 percent. This represents a generational difference in the meanings associated with drug use. Older people reject the use and trafficking in narcotics.

Generally, the offenses for which the elderly are arrested reflect their physical, economic, and psychological conditions. Few persons over sixty-five retain the physical characteristics needed to commit such crimes as robbery, forcible rape, or prostitution. Consequently, their involvement in such offenses is limited. On the other hand, age is no deterrent to shoplifting, driving while intoxicated, or becoming loud and disorderly while under the influence of alcohol. It is such violations that account for some *eighty-five percent* of the arrests of those sixty-five and over. The comparable figure for persons of all ages is only forty-one percent — less than half. Thus, the older citizen at his or her worst is not a particularly dangerous or violent offender.[8] A handful are, but the majority are less likely to harm others than are children from ten to fourteen.

Why Do They Commit Such Offenses?

The search for the causes of crime has been an extensive and frustrating experience. At times it seems that modern criminology is no closer to a solution to the question of why people engage in criminal behavior than they were a century ago. In fact, in many ways the search for the cause of crime is a lost cause. In the case of the elderly offender, this conclusion is especially significant. While a large number of theories and explanations of criminal conduct have been advanced, almost all pertain to youthful offenders or young adults.

Historically, persons whose behavior was viewed as criminal were thought to be: (1) possessed by evil spirits or demons, (2) under the influence of malevolent persons practicing magic or witchcraft, or (3) under the control of Satan. Later, as rationalism emerged in Western society, other explanations became popular. Supernatural theories gave way to the idea that criminal conduct represented "bad blood" or "reasoned choices" on the part of persons who clearly knew both right and wrong but *deliberately chose* the path of evil. In the latter case, it was felt that criminals had to held responsible for their actions because they exercised

their free wills in electing to misbehave. The utilitarian philosophies of Jeremy Bentham, late in the eighteenth century, attempted to reduce all human behavior to a simple formula: Man acted to obtain pleasure or to avoid pain. Thus, criminal conduct represented a seeking of pleasure. It could presumably be deterred by punishments just severe enough to balance out the formula. Making the "punishment fit the crime" emerged as one of the foundations of Western law and penology.

Scientific criminology — using the scientific method to seek causal relationships between personal or social factors and criminal conduct — is generally regarded as having begun with the work of Cesare Lombroso in the late nineteenth century. His view was that the criminal represented an *atavism*, that is, a throwback to an earlier stage in the evolution of man. This unusual combination of evolutionary theory and biological determinism was abandoned by criminologists early in the twentieth century. Since then, the search for the causes of crime has led researchers in a great variety of directions. Unfortunately, none of the approaches undertaken has been particulary fruitful. James Inciardi, a contemporary criminologist, likens the search for the causes of crime to the ancient quests for the philosopher's stone, the fountain of youth, and the seven cities of Cibola. The vision remains there as a shining attraction, but the results of the search continue to be disappointing:

> "A *medical* approach has sought to study the influence of physical disease on crime; a *biological* approach has attempted to relate crime to heredity; *physiological* and *biochemical* approaches have correlated crime with both normal and abnormal physiological functions and types; a *psychological* approach has analyzed motivation and diagnosed personality deviations; an *IQ* approach has characterized low intelligence as the morphology of evil; a *psychiatric* approach has designated mental disease as the root of crime; a *psychoanalytic* approach has traced behavior deviations to the repression of basic drives; a *geographic* approach has tried to demonstrate the influences of climate, topography, natural resources, and geological location on crime; an *ecological* approach has investigated the impact of the spatial distribution of persons and institutions upon behavior patterns; an *economic* approach has looked for relationships between various economic conditions and crime; a *social* approach has considered educational, religious, recreational, occupational, and status factors as they may relate to crime; a *cultural* approach has examined the influence of various institutions, social values, and patterns that characterize groups, and the conflicts between cultures of different groups, on crime; a *sociological* approach has been concerned with the nature and effects of social values, attitudes, and relationships on behavior; and a *multi-factor* approach has sought to embrace the combination of all these variables that may result in crime."[9]

The search continues. Perhaps as computers become more powerful,

and criminologists more clever, the factors or combinations of factors that bring people, old or young, to violate the law will be identified.

For all of the above reasons, not much can be said about the root causes of crimes committed by the elderly. There may be an economic factor in the decision of some elderly people to shoplift. Some steal non-prescription drugs and other medical supplies, and expensive foods from supermarkets. Yet, not all of the elderly do this, even those who are desperately poor. Also, many elderly steal insignificant items which they can well afford to buy. Alcohol plays a conspicuous role in the misconduct of many of the aged. Yet, the majority do not abuse alcohol. For those who become involved in more serious crimes, such as murder, their motivations, causal patterns and correlates are probably not conspicuously different from those that bring younger offenders into similar situations.

How Do They Fare in Prison?

Elderly offenders are held in both local jails and in prisons for the offenses they are accused or convicted of committing. In any given year, only a very small number of the elderly are sent to prisons for a first-time offense, or even for a repeat offense. If an aged person is locked up it is often in a local facility for a relatively short time. In many cases such persons are awaiting trial or are serving short sentences for more minor offenses. Those who are in prison are either recent offenders who have committed serious crimes or "old cons" who remain in prison serving long sentences for crimes committed when they were young. The experiences of each of these groups tend to be different.

In October, 1982 some 450,000 persons were being held in the nation's prisons. Of these about two percent were fifty-five or older. The approximately 3,500 jails in the United States have an average daily population of approximately 160,000 persons of all ages. Of these, some three percent are over fifty-five years old.

It is diffficult to assemble definitive data and head counts on the elderly who are incarcerated. Jails and prisons in different jurisdictions report their age categories differently. Researchers also use different age levels to identify "the elderly prisoner." Some have cut off the younger at forty. Others use fifty. Few use sixty-five as a cutoff age (the traditional dividing line based on retirement concepts) because this would leave very few people to study.

In any case, some elderly people are jailed or imprisoned annually in the United States and it is important to try to understand what happens to them under such circumstances. More important than an exact head count is the question of how they fare when incarcerated. Those in jail for a short term have a different experience from those who go to prison. The elderly person who has spent many years in jail has a different type of incarceration experience than the first time offender in prison.

Those who are held in local jails probably have the least desirable living situation. There is a truism among those familiar with American correctional facilities that facilities get better the farther they are located from the point

of arrest. Local jails provide the poorest environment, followed by improved ones at state prisons and better ones found in the federal penitentiary system.

Local jails are often grossly overcrowded. All types of prisoners are jammed in together, repeat and first offenders, murderers, drug addicts, shoplifters and felons. These jails tend to have poor food, light, heat or cooling, medical facilities, recreational opportunities, and occupational training. Most jails in the United States are old facilities designed for an earlier period and a smaller number of offenders. Such facilities are very hard on the elderly. Programs to care for elderly jail residents are limited because the staffs are not professionally trained. Days are spent in idleness because few jails have work or educational programs. The older offenders do not mix well with the others in the facility, tend to isolate themselves, and can easily be misunderstood. Often their medical needs go unattended and their fears and anxieties make the experience very painful, affecting their physical and mental health. Little systematic information obtained by research has been assembeld on elderly persons who spend appreciable amounts of time in local jails and detention facilities. A handful of studies are available concerning the experience of aging in the prison setting, but there is a paucity of specific research on the impact of a jail sentence on the aged prisoner.

Few first offenders among the aged end up in prison. Even among the young, only a small portion of those who commit crimes actually serve time in a penitentiary. Some who are arrested are discharged before trial. Others who are tried, receive probation or are placed in diversionary programs in lieu of sentence. Elderly offenders are likely to be processed in the criminal justice system in such a way that no prison time is served unless their offense is severe. The police at the point of arrest, who have great discretionary power, may decide not to place an old person in custody. Prosecutors may deal with them more leniently. Judges are not likely to enjoy incarcerating an aged individual. The first-time offender is therefore likely to be placed in a diversionary program, be given a suspended sentence, or be placed on probation, rather than be sent to prison.

Consequently, the aged person that does go to prison is likely to be there because he or she has committed a truly serious first time offense. Such transgressions are usually crimes against persons, such as manslaughter or murder. For example, Krajick's study of New York prisons revealed that more than half of prisoners over sixty had been sentenced in their old age, and forty percent had been convicted of homicide.[10]

Such data have led to the interpretation that the elderly are more likely than younger people to commit violent crimes. However, there are reasons why such a conclusion may be erroneous. First, the number of older persons who commit crimes other than disoderly conduct, driving while intoxicated, and larceny are very few compared to other age groups. Second, the criminal justice system, for reasons already enumerated, tends to keep older offenders out of prison for crimes that would result in

incarceration of more youthful offenders. Thus, the small number of elderly who do arrive at prison scarcely represent the broad picture of criminal behavior among the aged.

Prisons are designed for the young. Anyone over forty is regarded by other inmates as "old." Hence, when an elderly first offender does arrive at prison he or she has extreme difficulty in adjusting to this new environment. A person who is incarcerated for the first time after more than half a century of freedom finds the demands, people, routines and pressures of the prison environment unfamiliar and harsh. Less than a third of state and federal prisons have any special facilities that are specifically designed for the elderly such as special counseling, sit-down work programs, furlough programs, gardening opportunities and hobby crafts.

Old inmates are sometimes victimized by younger prisoners. They do not tend to be victims of homosexual rape, but of property crimes and physical assaults. Unless the prison groups them together in a cell block or other area where they can be protected, they may have to join a gang and provide services in exchange for protection. Many prisons do place the elderly in special areas for just such reasons. For the most part, however, few prisons make many meaningful distinctions between the elderly career criminal, the first offender, or the chronically ill aged prisoner. Also, the usual means by which inmates can receive favorable consideration for parole — successful completion of rehabilitation programs and arrangement for jobs after release — are not relevant to the lives of the old.

First offenders need to be distinguished from the "old cons" who have been incarcerated for many years. Some are in prison during their final years after a lifetime of alternating periods of freedom and confinement. They are habitual offenders whose criminal careers culminate in a long sentence late in life. As long as they remain vigorous, such prisoners continue to be a threat to society and are poor risks for release. Generally, however, they make model prisoners, wise in the ways of the institution and of their fellow inmates.

A different category of "old cons" is made up of aged prisoners serving life sentences for first time offenses of a serious nature committed when they were young. Such individuals also tend to be model prisoners, and they may be far less dangerous to society if released than many others who do get out.

It has been advanced that prison retards the aging process.[11] The hypothesis is that the structured existence behind bars creates a type of "Peter Pan" syndrome. In prison the individual leads a well-regulated life. Meals are usually nutritionally balanced and wholesome. Patterns of sleep and exercise are regular. Alcohol is normally unavailable. Outdoor exposure which ages the appearance is limited, thus enhancing the look of youthfulness. Finally, the aged in prison do not function in the context of usual family roles and relationships which define them in terms of their stage of the life cycle. Normal expectations to assume roles of elders who are outside the prison system are not existent. The total institution, the prison, requires conformity, minimal performance, and limited responsibility.

People who spend a long time in prison become dependent upon the institution. The longer they are confined the greater the dependency, and the earlier the age at which they were imprisoned the less able they are to cope with the demands of the outside world if released. A reasonable posture is that if prison is psychologically distressing to the aged, release back into the community after extensive confinement may be even more traumatic. They may lack even the most elementary resources and skills that are necessary for adequate survival in the community. It is for this reason that some long time inmates do not press for their release or probation. Others refuse to leave or if forced to may soon return having premeditated a crime and rearrest. One consideration for policy makers is whether the aged inmate should be given the option of release or non-release. Policies today obviously focus on deinstitutionalization largely for economic reasons. If this policy persists the halfway house concept used by the V.A. mental health officials, some state prison systems, and private sector service agencies should be considered in developing a uniform national policy as part of universal prison reform. Such community located homes for discharged elderly prisoners would provide multiple services and group experiences to ease the discharged prisoner's integration into the community. Connecting with friends, family, and kin would be the highest priority. Entitlements for economic support would be next in importance. This is one of numerous issues of the elderly offender in dire need of discussion and policy analysis.

1. All of these age-specific rates were calculated from the *Uniform Crime Reports* for 1980. See: William Wilbanks, "The Elderly Offender: Placing the Problem in Perspective," a paper presented at the Florida International University 2nd Annual Elderly Offender Conference, Miami, Florida, 1983.
2. James F. Fyfe, "Police Dilemmas in Processing Elderly Offenders," forthcoming in : Evelyn S. Newman, Ronald J. Newman, and Mindy Gerwitz (eds.), *Elderly Criminals*.
3. See: "Fear and Confusion in Court Plagued Elderly Crime Victims," *The New York Times*, March 13, 1983, p. 22.
4. Katherine Van Wormer, "To be Old and in Prison," a paper presented at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, March 13,1981.
5. *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979); Joseph Ham, "The Forgotten Minority — An Exploration of Long-Term Institutionalized Aged and Aging Male Prison Inmates," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1976; Devin Krajick, "Growing Old in Prison," *Correction Magazine*, March 1979, pp. 33-46; Monika Reed and Frances Glamser, "Aging in a Total Institution: The Case of Older Prisoners," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 1979, pp. 364-360; Manuel Rodstein, "Crime and the Aged, 2: The Criminals," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 234, No. 6, 1975, pp. 639.
6. *National Study of Women's Correctional Programs* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977) pp. 110-112.
7. See: Greg Mitchell, "Driving Drunks Off the Road," *Police Magazine*, September, 1982, pp. 49-56.
8. James J. Fyfe, *op. cit.*
9. James A. Inciardi, *Reflections On Crime* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1978) p. 91.
10. Devin Krajick, *op. cit.*
11. Monicka Reed and Francis Glasmer, *op. cit.*

Recommendations For Research

In the preceding chapters, we examined current knowledge of the role of the elderly in crime in the United States. We began with a brief history of elderly victimization. This was followed by patterns of crimes committed against the elderly. Then we covered the consequences of criminal victimzation described in the social sciences and social welfare literature. Included were the social, economic, psychological and physical consequences of criminal victimization of elderly persons. Subsequently covered was fear of crime in the lives of elderly Americans, and how consequences of such fear affect their lifestyles and quality of life. We also examined the types of programs developed by social and governmental agencies to help elderly persons cope with crime. These include crime prevention programs, victim assistance, and fear reduction programs. Finally, we examined criminal activity by the elderly themselves and what is known about elderly offenders.

In this chapter, we will assess briefly the state of knowledge of elderly crime and victimization and propose research to improve our knowledge of crime and the elderly.

An Assessment of Past Research

Research on this subject is unsophisticated regarding statistical analyses. This is the case in spite of the quality of the data found in the national surveys done by major polling organizations and those of the National Crime Survey. Data were collected using sophisticated survey designs with ample documentation. The analyses generally consist of bivariate comparisons, with an occasional control utilized for standard socioeconomic variables. Few multivariate analyses were found on criminal victimization of the elderly. This limits the possible interpretations of the power of specific factors and their combinations in understanding the causes and consequences of victimization.

Also, except for the examination of specific crimes in the National Crime Surveys, all other studies are general and not detailed. This is particularly the case with studies of fear of crime. One result is general information but little on the specifics of what it means and even fewer bases to recommend policies and programs.

Researchers should narrow the scope of investigations, precisely define the topics of study, and do indepth analyses. Elderly who do not become victims of crime and who have little or no fear of criminal invasion or attack should be studied more extensively. Learning the lifestyle characteristics, perceptions, behaviors, and feelings of non-victimized elderly has potential use in the development of programs to assist high risk groups.

The majority of reported studies are largely atheoretical. The analyses presented usually do not use guiding perspectives, i.e., conceptual frameworks, which give meaning to the data and which explain differences. Simple descriptions and inferences are made from such raw data to explain observed differences; the result is often speculation and inferential leaps. The absence of underlying theoretical principles often results in disagreement in the interpretation of the data and offers few bases for resolving these conflicts satisfactorily. In spite of this lack of theory and presence of "raw empiricism" studies have unarticulated assumptions about the elderly, especially issues on the causes and consequences of victimization. Thus, it is appropriate that we summarize these assumptions which are guiding principles for future research and program development.

Specific research recommendations will be made regarding patterns of victimization, the consequences of crime/victimization, fear of crime, and the elderly offender.

Issues Regarding Crime and the Elderly

Four basic issues of the study of crime and the elderly already alluded to are: who are the elderly, differential exposure, appropriate crime categories, and problems of group comparability. We shall now reexamine each of these.

1.Who Are the Elderly

There is no one group of elderly persons in the United States. The elderly are not a homogeneous group; their composition reflects the social, ethnic and racial makeup of the nation.

Subgroups of the elderly need to be studied separately, both in terms of the amount of crime committed against them and the types of crimes to which they fall prey. There are different age cohorts of the elderly and each may have different experiences with various kinds of crime. Thus it is impractical to call all persons above a certain age "the elderly" for any study. It is likely that there will be differences in "risk" of victimization and levels of victimization in various stages of the lifecycle after the age of 65.

2. The Question of Differential Exposure

From the available evidence we do not know the level of exposure the elderly have to crime. What is needed is comparative analysis of lifestyles for a variety of age groups. This analysis would examine both exposure to risk situations and the likelihood of victimization in those risk situations. Thus, we may be able to finally answer the question of whether or not the elderly are "over-victimized" or "under-victimized" regarding "serious" crimes.

Is avoidance behavior effective in reducing exposure to risk situations and thus to victimization? Such action may or may not be effective; research is desperately needed on this topic. Risk for the elderly may vary

over time. Again, research on the change in exposure and risk through the developmental stages is indicated.

3. What Are The Apppropriate Crime Categories?

For the crimes measured, the elderly are not more frequently victimized than other age groups. Personal larceny, the most frequent crime involving elderly citizens, has a rate only slightly higer than younger age cohorts. Victimization is more closely related to sex, location of residence and socioeconomic status than to age.

The question remains unanswered whether there are specific crimes with high rates of victimization of the elderly. There is a tendency for the elderly to get involved in insurance scams, home repair schemes, medical quackery, fake work-at-home offers, elder abuse, and institutional abuse. Other crimes include credit and rent gouging, gang harrassment, vandalism, "rowdyism," panhandling, verbal intimidation, and arson. We know very little about the distribution of these crimes in the population. We do know however, the negative consequences of these crimes for the quality of life of elderly persons.

4. Problems of Group Comparability

The problems of group comparability exist for crimes committed against various age, social, racial and cultural groups in our society. Many of our subcultures accept levels of violence which are unacceptable to others. Other subcultures accept deviousness and trickery as "common business practice." What one subculture accepts as common practice another may perceive to be exploitation. Since there is little consensus on definitions of violence by victims, their families, and even law enforcement officials, there will continue to be disagreement as to whether the elderly are unduly subject to victimization.

Other Assumptions About the Elderly and Crime

A number of additional assumptions about the nature of the elderly citizen's experience with criminal victimization appear in the crime and the elderly literature. These are:

1. The Elderly Suffer More Severe Consequences from Victimization

There is some support for the idea that the elderly victims of crime suffer more severe economic loss than younger age cohorts. This is because their loss is larger in relation to their total monthly income and resources to replenish stolen items. When elderly persons are attacked they are more likely to receive internal injuries and be hospitalized. However, the evidence is inconclusive whether they are more likely to receive severe injury than members of other age groups.

There is a paucity of data concerning psychological damage as a consequence of victimization. There are widespread beliefs that elderly victims as well as younger ones experience a variety of somatic and mental conditions after victimization, especially the result of violence and abuse. Treatment

of victims is based on the supposition of pervasive negative psychological consequences, although the research has not been done to establish the extent and intensity of psychological damage incurred.

2. The Elderly are More Fearful of Crime Than Other Age Groups

There is some evidence to support this assumption, but the differences between the elderly and other age groups is not consistently large. It is believed that other variables may also be operating in this process as well as age. The relationship of expressed fear to victimization needs to be more fully investigated.

3. Fear of Crime is Causing the Elderly to Imprison Themselves in Their Homes

The evidence indicates that this is not the case for the vast majority of the elderly, although there are individuals who do so isolate themselves. The phenomenon does not, however, seem to be widespread as the popular media reports would lead one to believe.

4. The Elderly More Frequently Fail to Report Crimes.

The data indicate that, for the traditional crimes measured in the studies discussed in this report, the elderly do not report crimes less frequently than other segments of society. This datum, however, says nothing about other types of crimes which the elderly might experience. Since we do not measure them, we cannot know whether or not they are present in their day to day experiences or if these crimes are reported to the appropriate authorities.

Specific Recommendations

First and foremost, research on crime and the elderly needs to be more solidly linked to theory. The relationship between victimization, perceptions of crime levels and fear of crime requires rigorous and systematic study. A related issue is the appropriate way to measure and distinguish direct and indirect victimization. Another is the question of relative exposure to risk.

We need to question whether senior citizens are victims of crimes not traditionally studied or listed in regular crime reports. What crimes are perpetrated against which subpopulations of the elderly, and by whom? What are the circumstances and conditions associated with the victimization of the elderly? Who is "at risk" for what?

The motivation, interest, role and function of social organizations such as the police, the courts, insurance companies, etc. in elderly victimization is virtually unknown. What are the consequences of elderly victimization for such organizations?

We need more details of the physical, economic, psychological and social consequences of victimization. We need more precise studies of economic loss, where loss is not inferred but is actually measured. We need detailed analyses of injuries to elderly victims and what such body and mind insults do to their lives. The circumstances under which different types of injuries occur need hard research. Real systematic research into

the psychological consequences of victimization and not simply "theoretical" speculation is required. The phenomenon of vicarious victimization is of unknown incidence. In its consequences it may have the same effect as being victimized. Studies of this transferring of experience are sorely needed. Does the fear of crime come into being or is it exacerbated as a consequence of victimization? What impact does it have for the victim or close associates, relatives, and family members?

Research and theory should focus on the link between fear of crime to the direct and indirect effects of victimization. Does the *belief* that elderly victims suffer more than younger victims lead to a higher level of fear among the elderly? Do the elderly actually suffer more and in what ways? We need systematic research on: Who is afraid? What makes them afraid? When and where are they afraid? Are they always afraid? Is the fear justified? Such mind states are related to pre-emptive and other response behaviors of elderly persons. Social service organizations such as the police and welfare agencies would be well served if awareness of these mind/body/behavior manifestations was present in their dealings with elderly before and after victimization occurred.

In regard to the elderly offender, we need much more systematic information regarding who, what and when crimes are committed. What, too, are the consequences of these offenses for the offender, for the victim, for society? For example, do we need to plan special treatment, rehabilitation, or confinement facilities? Do the courts need to take into account special needs of elderly defendants? What are the appropriate responses to these crimes? A particularly pertinent question about elderly criminality is their role in drunken driving.

Questions regarding elderly victimization and criminality as raised in this chapter will be answered only when researchers address them with theoretical approaches, well thought-out assumptions and appropriate methodologies.

Policy and Program Recommendations

Prepared by
Marvin B. Sussman, Ph.D.
University of Delaware

1. Establish an intergovernmental research and demonstration task force to form policies and programs which will encourage and support programs whose manifold purposes include:

   1.1 Employing a longitudinal design similar to the National Health Survey determine the incidence and prevalence of different types of crimes involving the elderly as victims or offenders.

   1.2 Organize comparative studies using other age and cultural groups in this and worldwide societies with consideration given to:

   1.2.1 types of crimes and offenders,
   1.2.2 incidence and prevalence,
   1.2.3 spatial, congregate and ecological factors,
   1.2.4 real, potential, and perceived psychological and physical damage experienced by victims and offenders.

Rationale

There is a pervasive and heightened fear of the increased incidence of crimes involving elderly persons. The facts and fictions of this phenomenon have yet to be determined by data gathered systematically and over lengthy time periods. Future educational, service and support policies and accompanying programs can best be established with such base line data. The suggestion is not to place a moritorium on service, control and other activities while studies are being conducted and the monitoring of the crime phenomenon occurs. Response to problems endemic to crimes committed by or against the elderly is indicated regardless of incidence. However, the "hard data" resulting from the above series of studies will provide information for intelligent decisions on types of educational, correctional, and other services fitted to the problem and functioning in the most cost/effort mode.

2. Related to recommendation number one and as an out growth of the activities of the intergovernmental task force we encourage the formation of a National Institute for Elderly Crime. This institute can be attached to an existing one and if properly supported it could be downgraded in structure thus becoming a viable "Service" or "Administration" with the backing of a parent group, e.g. The National Institute on Criminal Justice. This organization would have multiple functions of service, consumer advocacy, research, education, demonstration projects, consultation, media development, information dissemination and utilization. Examples of activities include:

   2.1 *Information Service* to national, state, and local government officials, planners, policy makers and legislators and non-governmental agencies. The purpose is continuous presentation of data to be used in modifying old or adopting new policies, legislation and programs.

   2.2 *Service strategies* to prevent crimes. This task is to assess:
      2.2.1 utility of current physical constraints for use by elderly
      2.2.2 rewards and incentives for elderly to use strategies and tactics to reduce criminal insult,
      2.2.3 physical fitness and health practices of elderly and their relation to prevention,
      2.2.4 existing support services for victims.

   2.3 *Research*, some examples are:
      2.3.1 role of media in prevention and enhancement of crime involving the elderly,
      2.3.2 establish typologies and patterns of criminals and criminal activities related to elderly as victims or offenders. What type of criminals prey on the elderly? e.g. drug addicts, psychopaths; what proportion of elderly prey on one another compared to other age groups. Are these statistics any different for types of crimes and offenders for other age cohorts?

   2.4 *Education*, illustrations are:
      2.4.1 what do law officials, judges, lawyers, police, sheriff deputies, and noviates, those in law school or paralegal systems need to know regarding the victims and offenders of crimes against the elderly,
      2.4.2 fear of crime among the elderly and therapies to ameliorate such fear. Community resources to live and work with fear and its consequences of alienation and isolation.

   2.5 *Consumer advocacy* to promote citizen self help and responsibility, by:

2.5.1 developing a small grant program for local groups forming self help anti-crime activities, focussed on special needs of elderly,

2.5.2 providing consultation on formation of advocacy groups aimed to commit and use effectively existing community resources in crime education and control activities or in developing new structures, tac tics and strategies for these purposes,

2.5.3 cataloging, evaluating, and disseminating information on advocacy programs which are ex emplary in their organization self help processes and outcomes. The winners should be recognized and promoted continuously.

2.6 *Demonstrations,* to provide confirmation and universalization of programs and procedures which are deemed workable as a consequence of research and experience. To accomplish this end:

2.6.1 undertake experiments to determine program viability accounting for relevant ecological, spatial, congregate, psychological, demographic, and physical factors. The model process is the FDC determination of drug product quality,

2.6.2 fund investigations which contain appropriate evaluations in order to determine a high priority program's utility and adaptability in various geographic locations and with varied populations of older Americans.

2.7 *Consultation,* provide expert advice when requested through:

2.7.1 maintaining a clearinghouse of experts and program information available to users in various parts of the country,

2.7.2 sustain a brain trust of experts who examine policies and programs for their impact, practicality, efficacy, and negative or positive outcomes. As consultants to government and private sector officials such analyses emulating the "think tank" reports can serve to promote dynamic rather than stagnant policies and programs,

2.7.3 training a selected number of individuals to be consultants to state and local government officials on elderly crime policies and programs.

2.8 *Media development* to optimize use of a communication system which can educate, inform, allay fears, explore myths, and motivate the type and level of activities which can prevent

and ameliorate the elderly crime problem. This objective can be achieved by:

2.8.1 developing connections with major media and offering useful and factual information, e.g. research results; consultants who are members of the think tank; local experts and program materials,

2.8.2 sustaining a small grant program for authors, producers, playwrights and others in the performing arts to prepare materials for mass media distribution on topics relevant to elderly crime.

Rationale

While one should maintian a healthy ambivalence or skepticism concerning the formation of new bureaucracies it is apparent, if history teaches us anything, that institutions, systems, and organizations do not automatically reform their policies and programs in the face of changed societal conditions and the needs of the populace. The current AIDS problem illustrates this point; conditions have to become desperate to effect any rational action or emotional response. In this age of systems and the organizations, a corporate model of structures, values, symbolic representations, policies and programs, the need is to coalesce all components of policy and function around a central structure. The institute, even small in scope and support develops an image; it becomes a mecca for the concerns and treatment of elderly crime; and if it has an impact, e.g. obtains the "facts," reduces fear, it will become a sustaining organization with increased resources and opportunities to focus on prevention rather than amelioration. Less than institute status is possible provided it has a high degree of autonomy and is given a ten year period of time to develop its viability.

An institute can provide on a continuous basis an overview of policies and practices in the elderly crime area and establish priorities for action. For example the seven institute functions can be implemented with varying intensity based upon assessment of greatest need and cost/effectiveness.

The institute's mandate, plan of action and funding requires involvement in political activities with opportunities to educate the public, government administrators, legislators and constituencies. The implementation of change in societies like the United States is a consequence of political processes and decision making. It is imperative that an idea, image, or perspective be entwined in a structure for it to be given credence and the opportunity to persist. This is the way a society functions. Structures or organizations vie with each other for the limited resources. In sum, to do something regarding elderly crime in the short term but particularly by the year 2000 requires an institute or structural entity with mandate and means to perform functions described previously.

3. We recommend a policy of societal shared responsibility and concomitant program of instant financial restitution for losses incurred as a consequence of crime against the elderly. To effect this policy requires:

   3.1 A national insurance program involving a confederation of insurance carriers and government agencies, e.g. Social Security Administration, the latter insuring on the low income elderly.

   3.2 Examination of the possibility that insurance programs offering immediate restitution of losses with zero or limited deductibles can be incorporated into existent third party payer programs.

   3.3 Developing, as a component of this program, intensive education on prevention of elderly crime to reduce its incidence, minimize abuse of the system, and to reduce the probabilities of repeated victimization.

   3.4 A monitoring and investigating component to establish abuse, following procedures used by insurers in other insurable areas, e.g. car accidents, fires (arson).

Rationale

With each passing year income insufficiency is the situation for an increasing number of elderly. The "near-poor," those whose income is less than 25 percent above the poverty level, when combined with the poor represent almost one fourth of older persons, 5.5 million in 1975. An economic loss as a consequence of a crime, however small, can have drastic impact on the economic well being of elderly Americans. The negative effects will be greatest among the near poor and poor who do not have resources to replenish the loss. Serious psychological consequences such as depression, rage, helplessness, and alienation and anomie are likely. By not replenishing the loss — monies, equipment, momentos, food — the efforts to rehabilitate and restore the older victim to the pre-event level of mental and physical functioning or to effect her or his adaptation to the loss will be impeded. The trauma of being violated personally or intrusion into one's space is a sufficient burden to carry and should not be exacerbated by an impending economic loss.

4. We recommend incorporation of a victim assistance counselling component into the training policies of law enforcement officials and those of other workers of human service systems, e.g. counselors, homemakers, visiting nurses, who treat and care for eldelry crime victims. Implementation of this recommendation requires development of curricula and training programs in local communities on:

4.1 Communication skills on verbal and nonverbal behaviors: active listening, eye contact, movement, postures, gestures, touching, smiling, seating.

4.2 Understanding of feelings: guilt, hostility, anger, sense of loss and violation of self and space.

4.3 Development of techniques incorporating behaviors which envelop sensitivity, empathy, respect, and concern in order to restore the victim's confidence, individuality, and self esteem.

Rationale

Communicating effectively is a concern at any age and within any age cohort. For the elderly the problems may be exacerbated by their hearing and vision loss. Such diminished visual acuity and hearing capacity impairs interaction, understanding, compliance with procedures and instruction. Thus required is training in nonverbal communication, the use of eye contact, smiling, head movements, posture, seating gestures, and touching. Active listening to elderly persons by a counselor can show a victim attention, respect, recognition, and concern for her or his well being. It can help victims restore to themselves a feeling of self control.

5. We recommend expanding the current opportunities for crime prevention education for elderly persons to include those who normally do not participate in these programs, the isolated, frail, and disabled. To achieve this objective there is a need to:

   5.1 Increase the number of crime prevention trainers among the staffs of senior centers, nutrition programs, housing estates, and other human service providers who engage the elderly.

   5.2 Develop a cadre of crime prevention trainers and educators drawing recruits largely from the senior cohort.

   5.3 Use established area councils or state offices for the aged to act as linkers between elderly clients and organizations who support them with training and education sources, e.g. the police, in developing crime prevention modules and their implementation.

6. We recommend crisis counselling for elderly crime victims immediately after the victimization occurs. Implementation requires:

   6.1 Training of service providers, especially those who come in contact immediately after victimization. Included are family members and persons who are "like family," close associates, peers, and friends of the senior citizen.

6.2 Organization of learning modules, similar in format to CPR training, designed for lay persons as well as providers and not to exceed 6 hours in didactic and experiential work.

6.3 Survey existing counselling services in local communities on feasibility of providing such services on demand and on a fee for service basis. Explore third party payment plans and government support for such programs.

Rationale

Mental or emotional stress and its consequences in the aftermath of victimization is a more serious result of crime against elders than bodily injury, loss of possessions, time, and work. Crime is a violation of one's external and internal self. It is an unconscionable act which produces traditional responses and adaptations of people in any crisis. These include shock, disbelief, denial, mood alteration, guilt, rage, anger, pseudo-calm and bereavement. Feelings of loss of control of self and the environment tend to be overwhelming and concerned intervention and support are requisite. Counselling involves not only advising, listening, interacting, but facilitating, by direct action, the individual's efforts to cope with the stress endemic to the crisis.

7. We recommend experimental demonstrations utilizing the Robin Hood complex notion with gangs as a means to reduce criminal activity against elderly citizens. The objective is to connect the value that it is not "macho" to prey on the weak and helpless with the value systems of organized groups and syndicates, which often emphasize manliness, justice for the underprivileged and identification with the downtrodden. Implementation of this objective involves:

7.1 Inducing current human service workers with gangs to incorporate this notion that gang members do not vulturize the poor, needy, and helpless.

7.2 Developing a transformed value system that protection of the elderly is a requisite for standing in the gang organization, using techniques which appeal to pride and honor.

7.3 Testing for efficacy of this approach by examining consequences of interventions of voluntary self help vigilantes or empowered non-police groups, doing patrol work, citizen arrests, help and support activities for elderly citizens.

7.4 Developing a mass media compaign to reach all sectors of the society that robbing the poor is despicable behavior.

7.5 Provide recognition rewards to those within and outside the legal control system who demonstrate success in controlling or reducing criminal acts against the elderly.

Rationale

Self control and self policing within organizations, social systems and professions has long been empirically established as the grist for the law and order of any society. In fact societies cannot function optimally in terms of any criteria, e.g. continuity, maintenance, stability of a political system, orderly and progressive change, unless there is a high level of internalization of common values and practices within the body politic. Enforcement of laws is but only one and often the least effective process in determining adherence to societal and group articulated values and practices. Self enforcement of group values in consonance with societal ones are the connecting links of a society's being.

The Robin Hood complex is not condoning the historic mythical representation of stealing from the rich to give to the poor. Rather it recongizes that in high crime areas indicated by the demographic analyses in this volume, there persist gang and syndicate structures often more influential and controlling of the populace than law enforcement and other instutitional functionaries. Our intent is to utilize this non legal network of structures and actors to not only police themselves but to act as a "critical mass" to control the non-gang and non-syndicate preying criminals. The intent is to create allies and defenders of the elderly, especially the elderly poor.

8. The long range and deeply rooted issue is transforming the basic value system and practices endemic to it, those beliefs, and conditions of life and behaviors which make for high incidence and prevalence rates of criminal behavior concomitant with societal complexity and growth. Therefore, we recommend the formation of the "Club of Maturity, 2020" group of dominant left and right hemisphere persons who will examine, synthesize, and report information on means to transform society's values, structures, and behaviors to deeper roots of consciousness. The objectives are to reduce the principle economic, social, psychological and organizational bases for hostile criminal acts against senior citizens. To achieve this objective requires:

    8.1 Developing a "think tank" conceptually and pragmatically oriented group who are competent scientists and humanists, cognitive and affectively balanced to undertake.

        8.1.1 studies and reviews of transformation processes which can be used in reorganizing current values and practices which make criminal behavior a rabid activity in modern day life,

        8.1.2 postuation of new symbolic representations of belief systems and views which are in keeping with a new conception of a planetary culture in this post indus trial age where integration and co-ordination of the human mind, spirit, brain, body, ecology and societal structures is underway,

8.1.3 in the interim as programs of individual and system transformations occur, there is required development of reward systems for non-criminal behavior. Reallocation of existing resources may be a basic theme for the think group to indulge as it seeks the most optimal rewards for positive rather than destructive behaviors involving older Americans.

Rationale

Existing values of competition, corporate control, aggressiveness, individual above group, gain and profit are encrusted in existing systems and their component institutions and organizations. These values are the symbolic representations of today's organizations and are more fitted to the world pre-1955. Today's world with its interconnectedness, space age technologies is crying for a new set of values which will reduce within society any group destructive tendencies and establish the bases for a world order and understanding which will reduce the possibilities of a nuclear holocaust. It is not far fetched to place the victimization of the elderly and the crimes committed by the elderly themselves withing the context of this larger issue. The sense of community, we-ness over oneness, support, love, caring concern, equity, and harmony with self, others, and nature, and a sense of community are values fitted for this emerging planetary age. Values such as these cannot be widely diffused or behaviors emanating from such values be survivable without parallel modification of existing forms of organization. Organizations and their values must be in harmony. One cannot "succeed" with a "we-ness" orientation in a system which structures competition with room at the top for one person. It is expected that the proposed "Club of Maturity, 2020" will address these profound issues and determine policies and programs which can effect value and organizational transformations.

APPENDIX

Figure 1

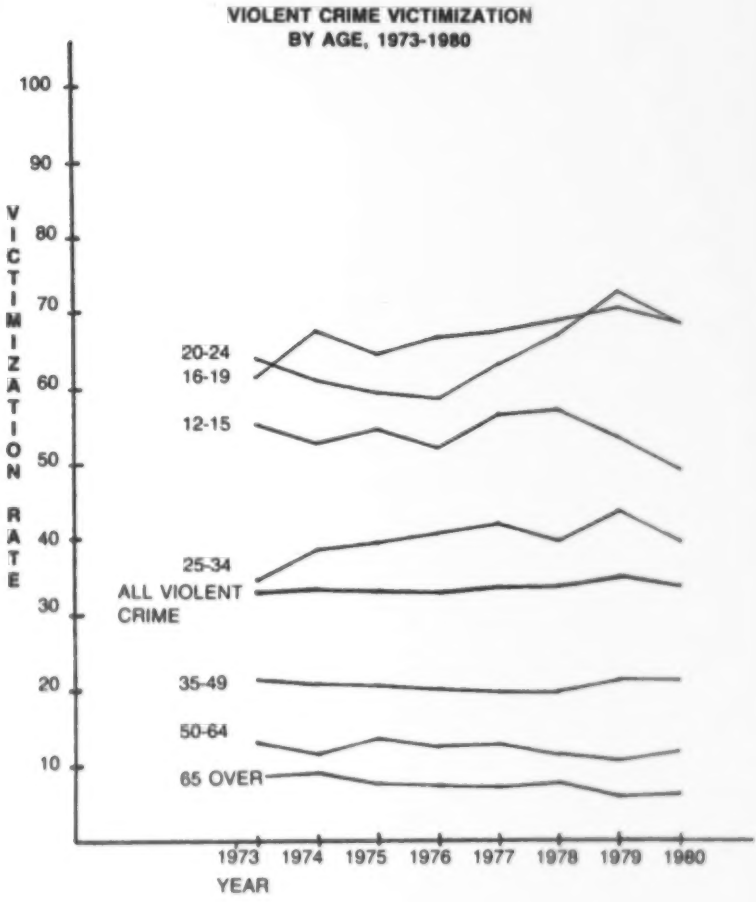

Figure 2

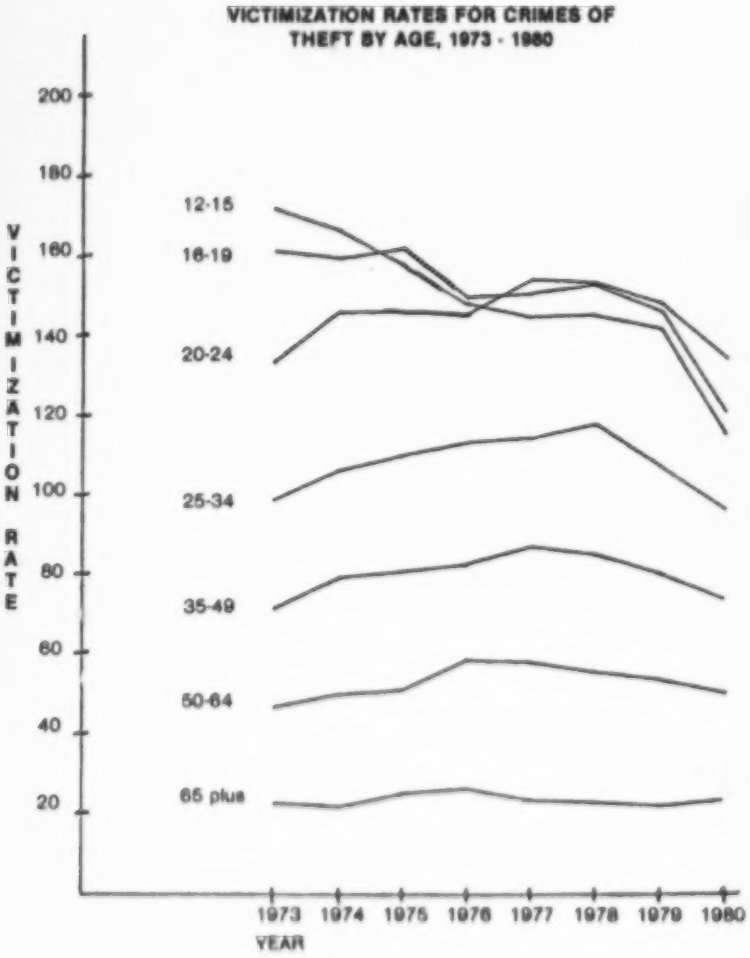
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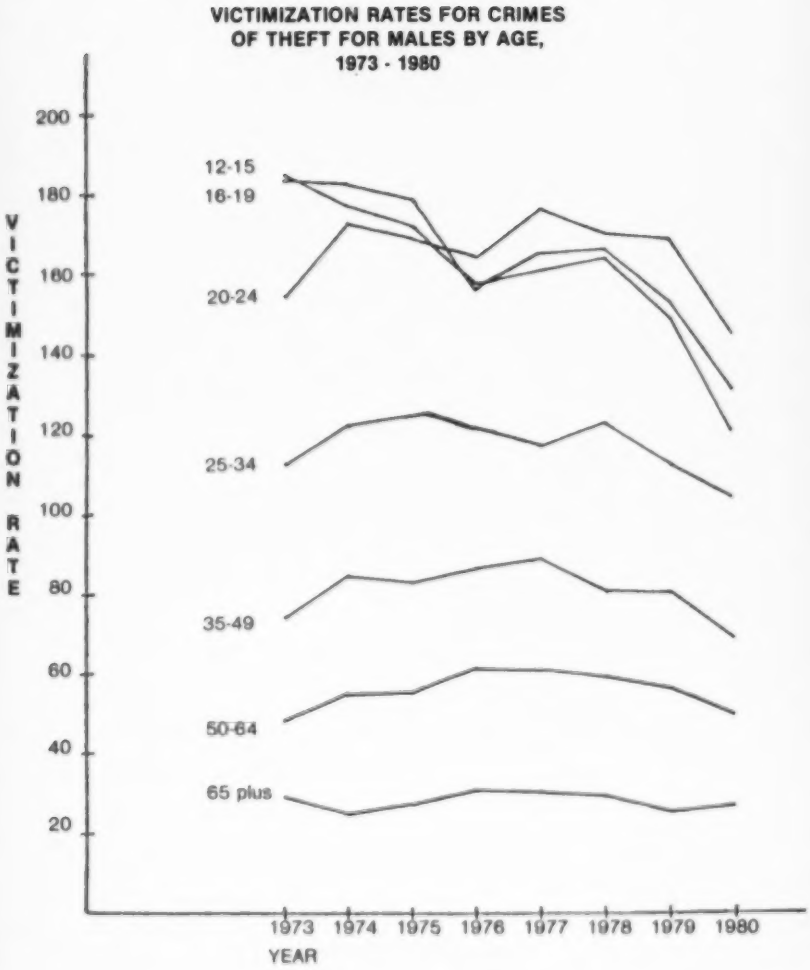
Figure 3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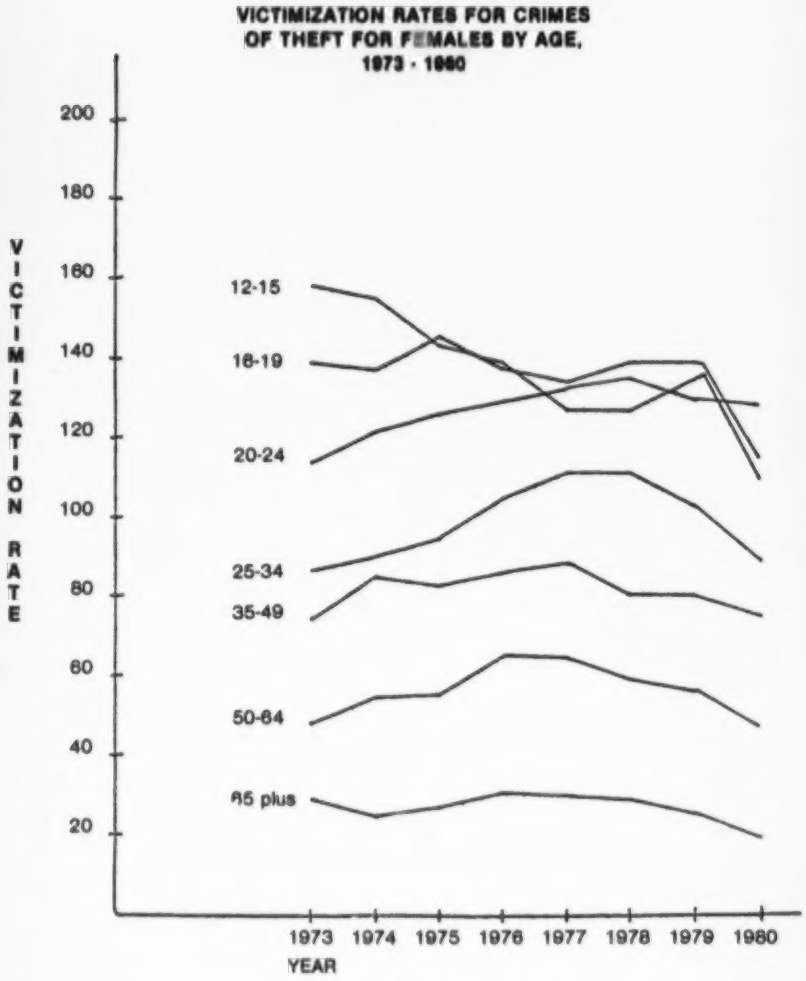
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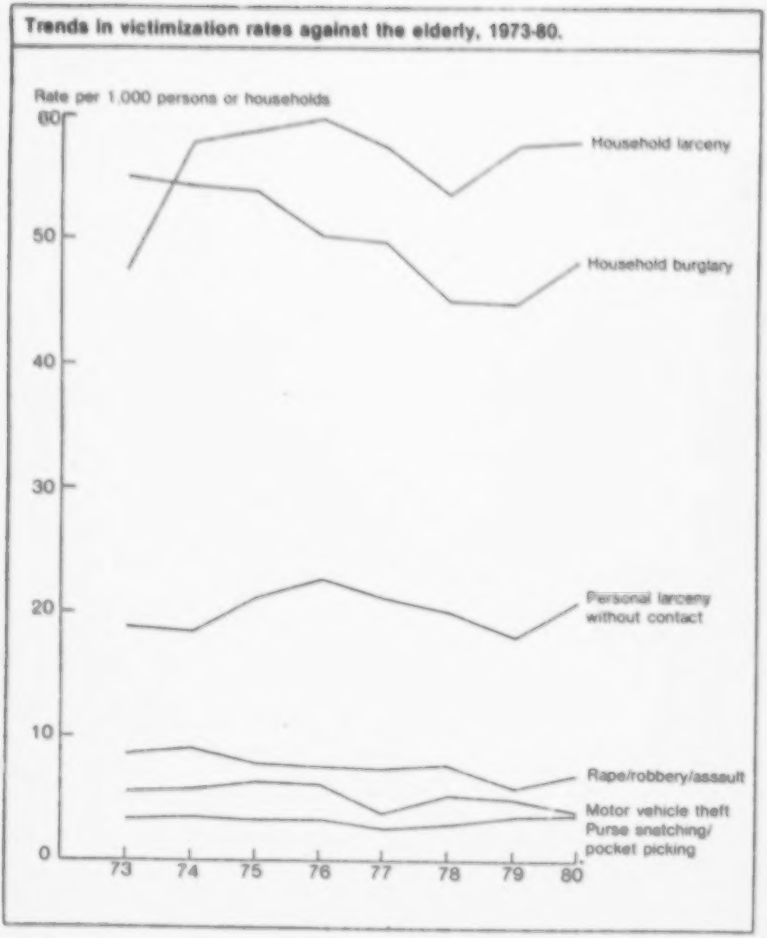
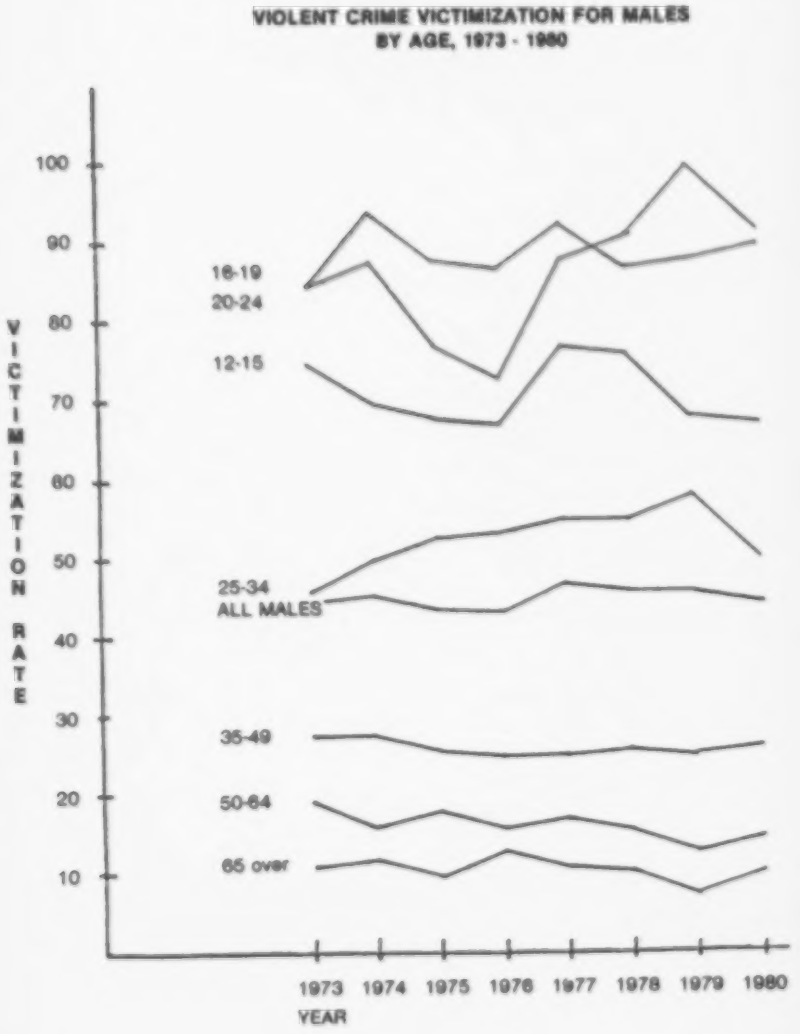


Source: Crime and the Elderly, Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, December, 1981.

Figure 6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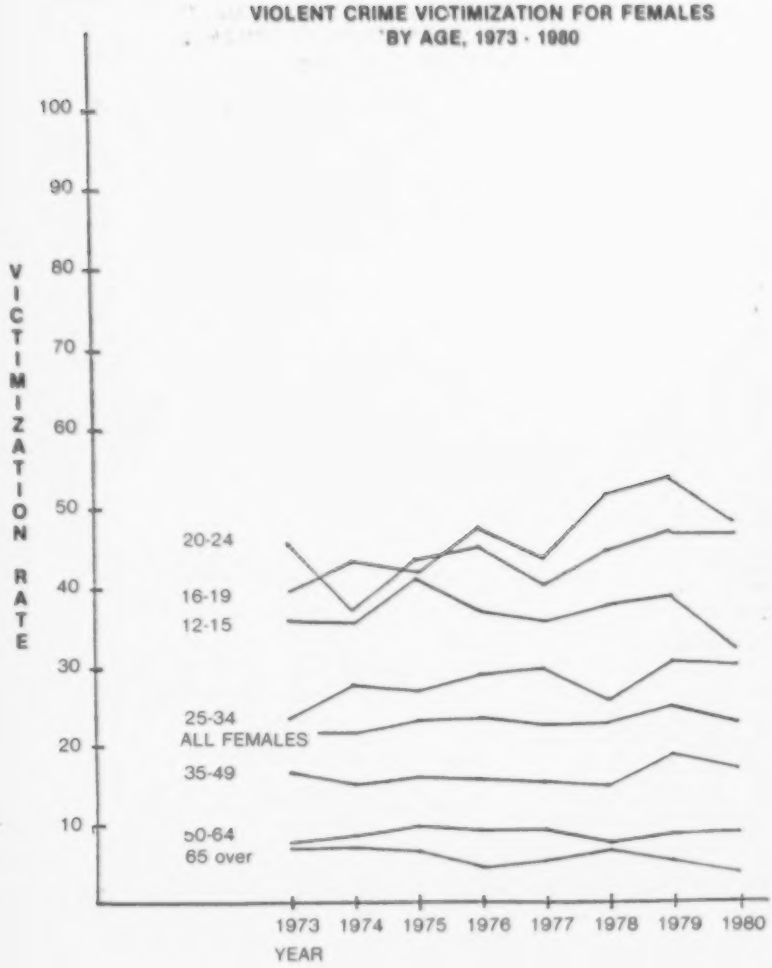
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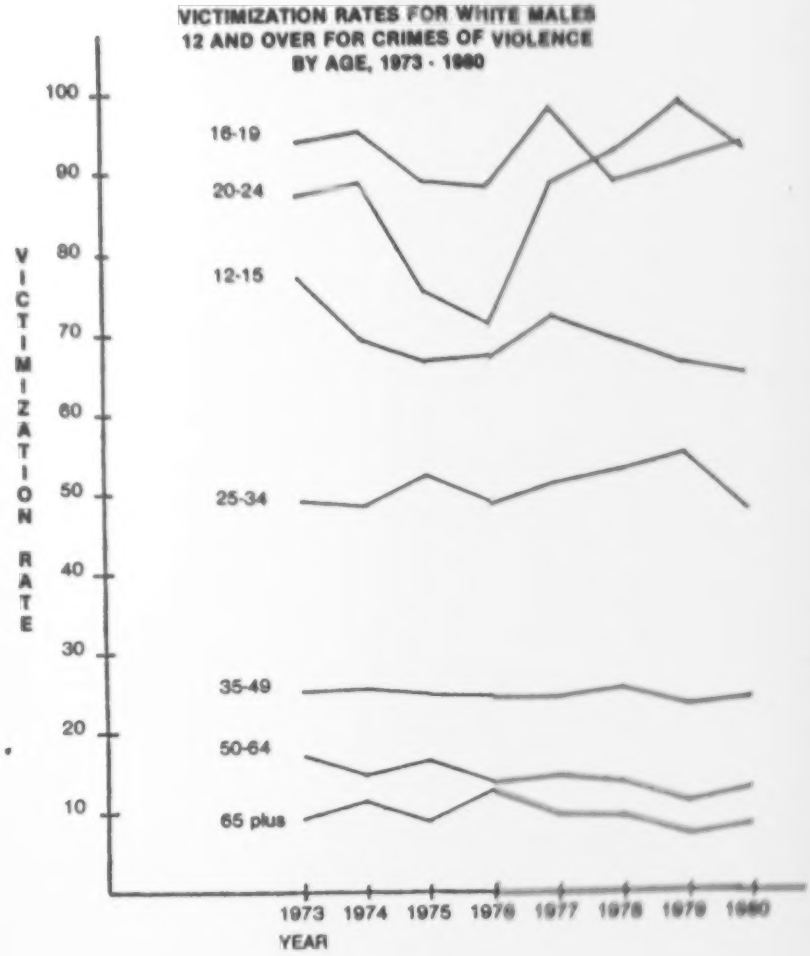
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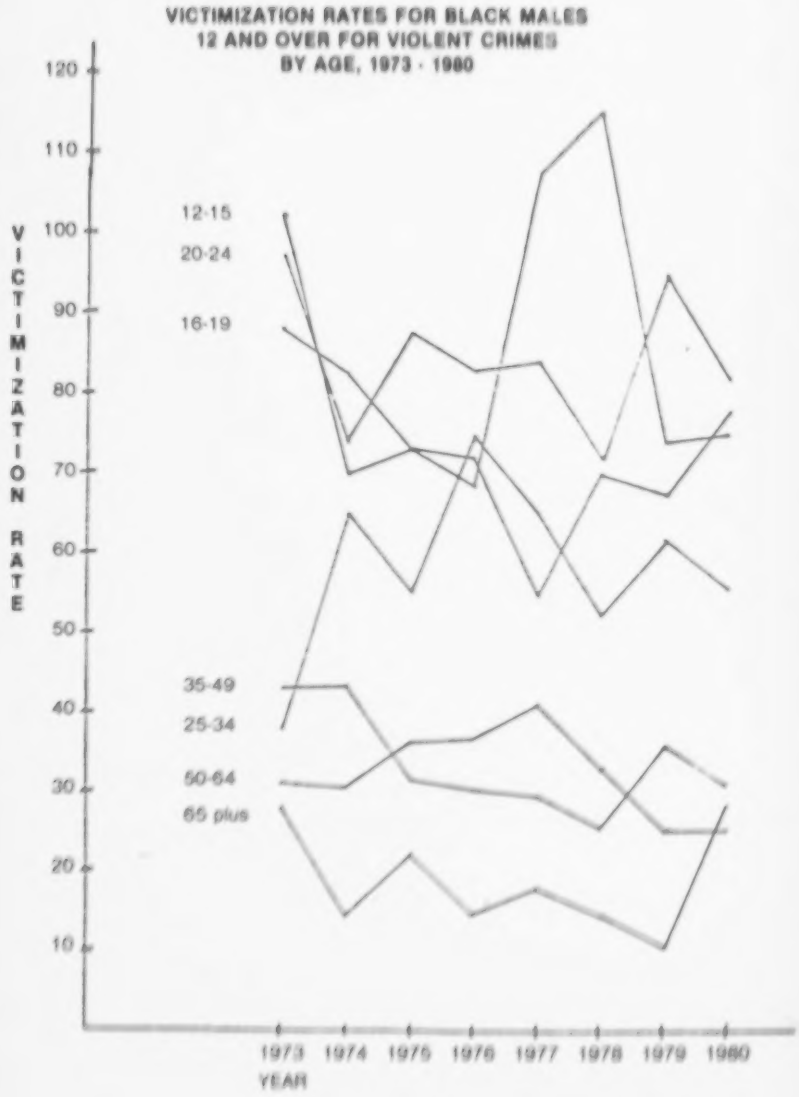
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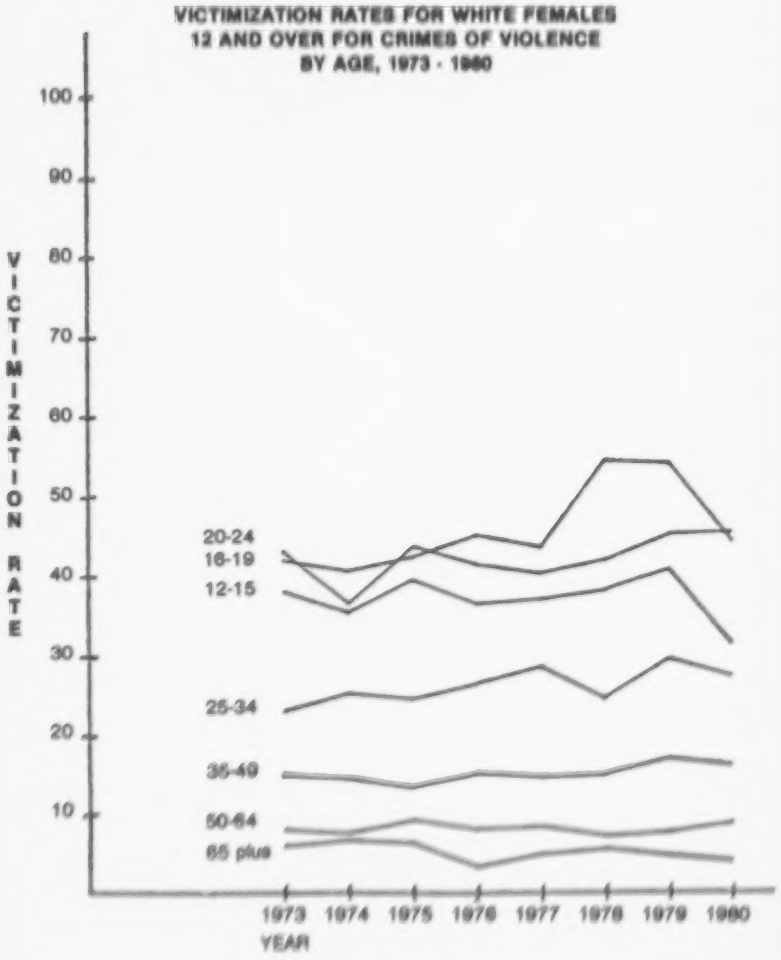
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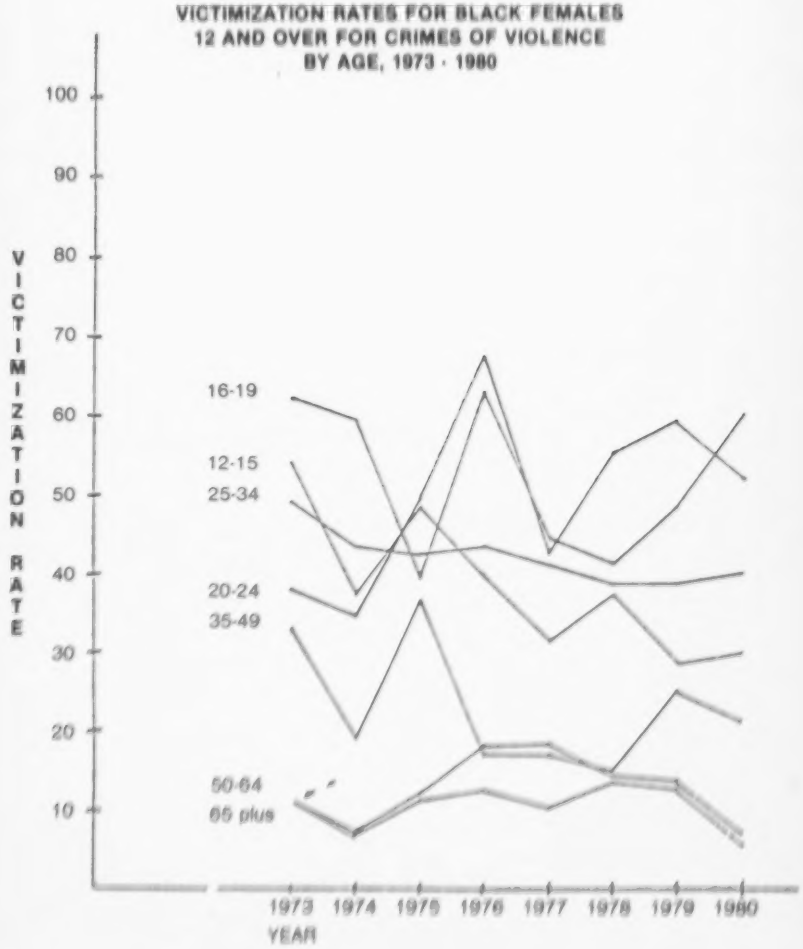
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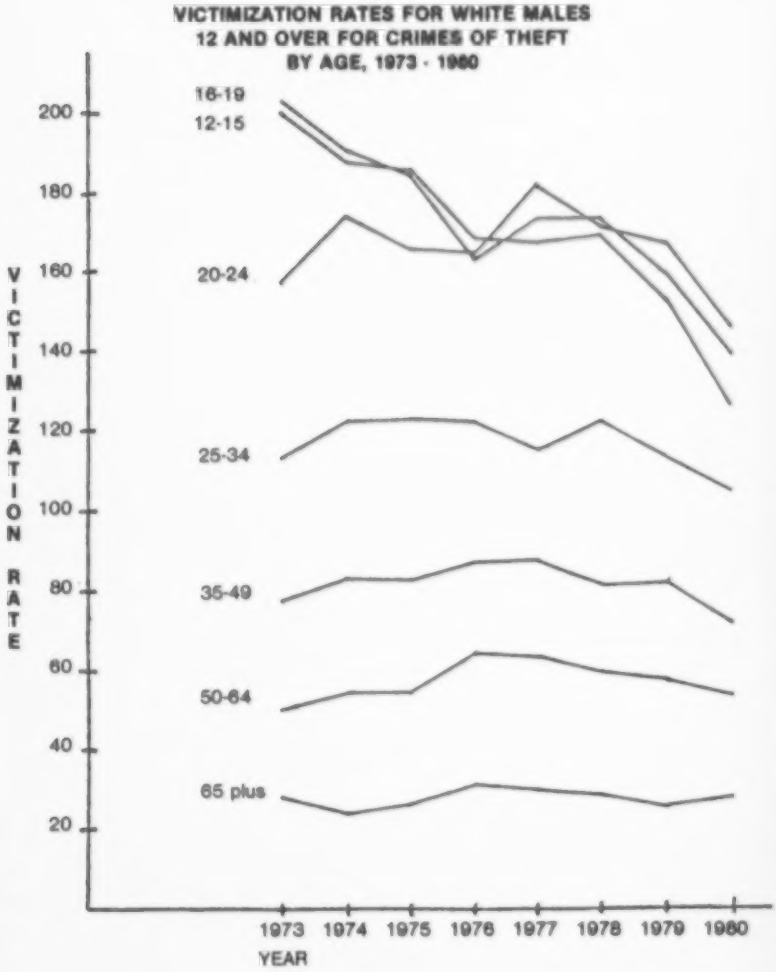
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Figure 13

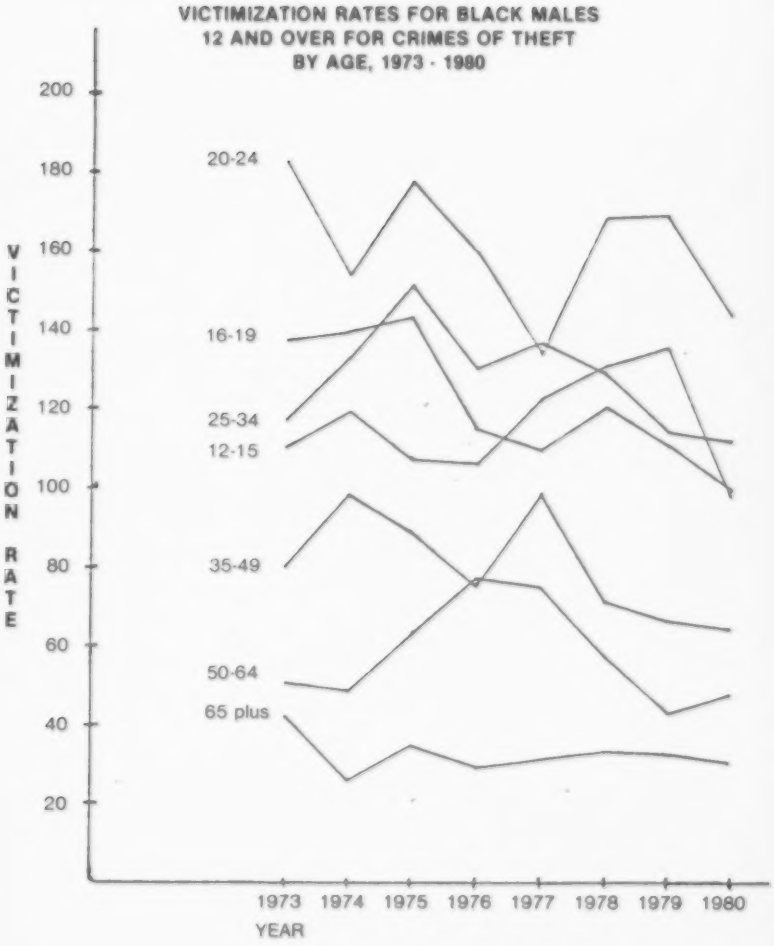

VICTIMIZATION RATES FOR BLACK MALES
12 AND OVER FOR CRIMES OF THEFT
BY AGE, 1973 - 1980
VICTIMIZATION RATE
200
180
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
20-24
16-19
25-34
12-15
35-49
50-64
65 plus
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
1980
YEAR

Figure 14

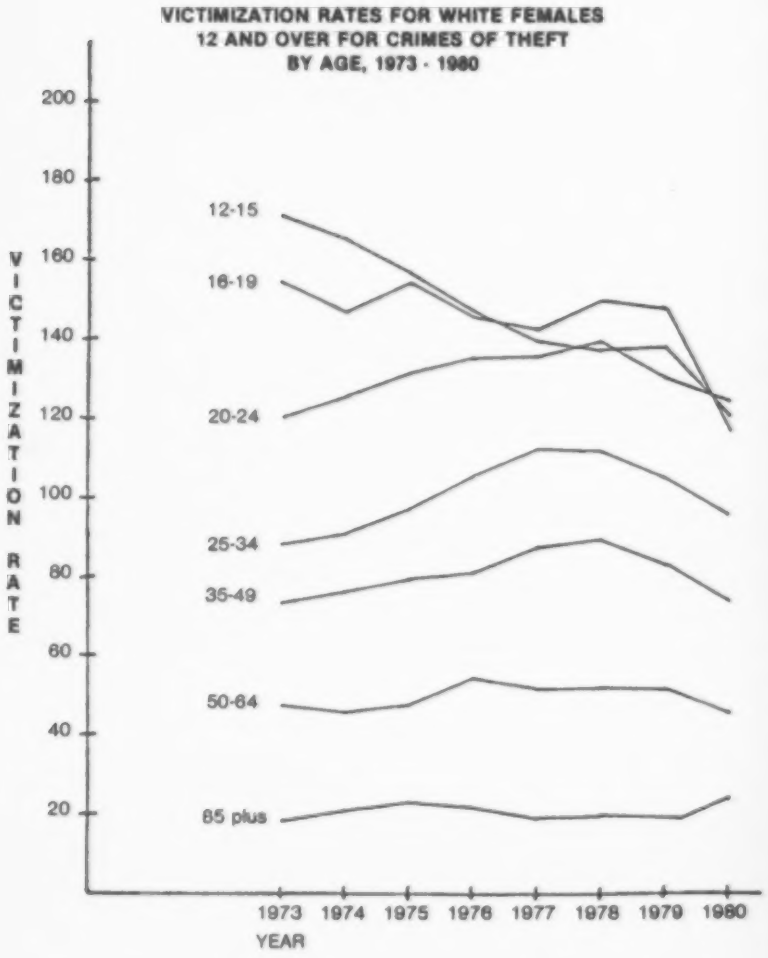

VICTIMIZATION RATES FOR WHITE FEMALES
12 AND OVER FOR CRIMES OF THEFT
BY AGE, 1973 - 1980
VICTIMIZATION RATE
200
180
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
12-15
16-19
20-24
25-34
35-49
50-64
65 plus
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
1980
YEAR

Figure 15

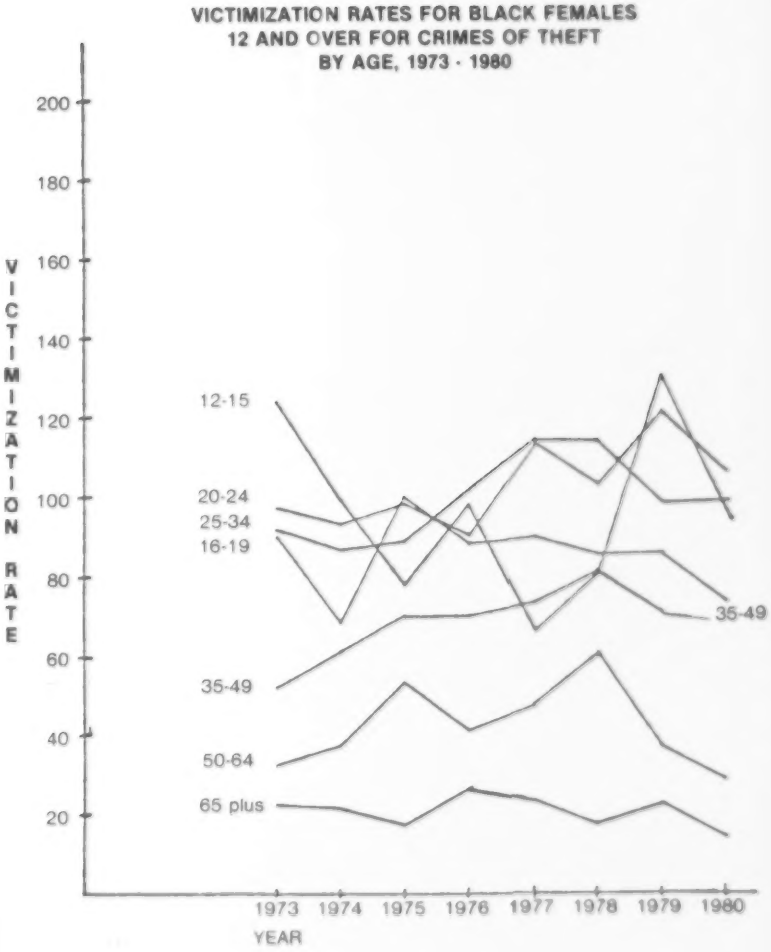
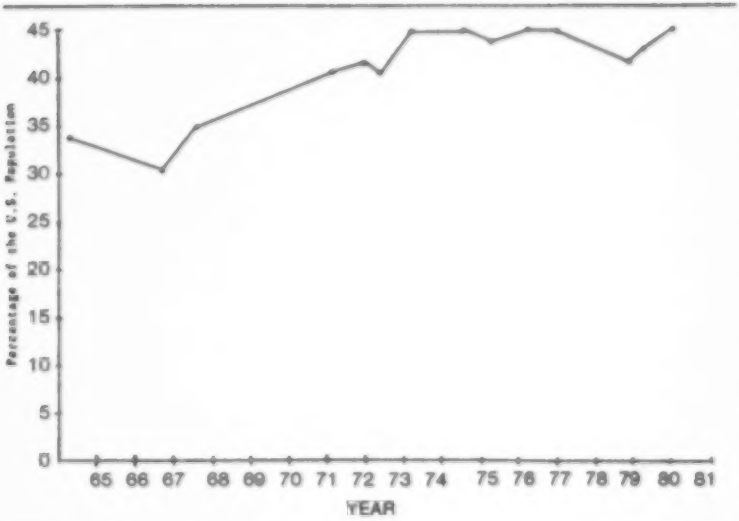

VICTIMIZATION RATES FOR BLACK FEMALES
12 AND OVER FOR CRIMES OF THEFT
BY AGE, 1973 - 1980
VICTIMIZATION RATE
200
180
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
12-15
20-24
25-34
16-19
35-49
35-49
50-64
65 plus
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
1980
YEAR

Figure 16



Trends in fear of crime 1965-1981.

Source: Wesley Skogan "On Attitudes and Behaviors," page 28 in Dan Lewis (ed.) *Reactions to Crime*.

TABLE 1

Victimization Rates for Persons Age 12 and Over by Age of Victim and Type of Crime, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 Persons)

	Crimes of Violence				Crimes of Theft		
	Total	Rape	Robbery	Assault	Total	P/L with	P/L without
Age							
12-15							
1973	55.3	0.8	11.3	43.3	172.0	2.2	169.8
1974	52.6	1.5	12.7	38.5	166.7	3.1	163.6
1975	54.6	0.8	11.4	42.4	158.3	3.0	155.4
1976	52.0	1.1	10.0	40.9	148.7	2.2	146.5
1977	56.5	1.6	10.9	44.0	144.2	2.3	141.9
1978	57.0	1.3	10.9	44.7	145.6	1.9	143.8
1979	53.4	1.3	9.4	42.7	141.9	2.9	139.0
1980	49.5	0.7	8.8	40.0	118.5	2.9	115.6
16-19							
1973	61.5	2.3	9.3	49.8	161.4	4.3	157.1
1974	67.9	2.5	11.3	54.1	159.8	3.7	156.1
1975	64.2	2.4	10.6	51.1	162.1	3.3	158.8
1976	66.7	2.1	9.4	55.3	147.0	4.1	142.9
1977	67.7	2.7	9.5	55.5	149.8	2.7	147.0
1978	68.9	2.5	9.8	56.6	152.6	2.9	149.7
1979	70.2	3.2	10.4	56.7	146.1	2.7	143.0
1980	68.6	2.9	11.1	54.7	124.5	3.8	120.7
20-24							
1973	64.0	3.3	11.3	49.5	133.4	4.6	128.8
1974	61.1	2.1	10.7	48.3	146.3	3.4	143.0
1975	59.2	2.6	10.8	45.8	146.6	4.3	142.2
1976	58.5	2.6	10.3	45.6	146.3	3.8	142.4
1977	63.3	1.7	9.1	52.5	153.9	3.5	150.4
1978	66.0	2.4	8.7	55.8	152.4	4.9	147.5
1979	72.2	2.6	12.1	57.5	148.8	4.3	144.5
1980	68.6	2.4	10.6	55.7	136.6	3.3	133.3
25-34							
1973	34.4	1.3	5.5	27.6	99.0	2.7	96.3
1974	38.6	1.4	7.0	30.2	106.2	2.6	103.5
1975	39.2	1.2	6.3	31.7	109.8	2.9	106.9
1976	40.6	1.2	6.4	33.0	113.2	2.8	110.4
1977	42.0	0.9	6.3	34.8	114.7	2.7	112.0
1978	39.9	1.1	5.9	33.0	117.0	2.9	114.2
1979	43.8	1.3	6.0	36.6	107.7	2.8	104.9
1980	39.7	1.3	7.2	31.2	98.7	2.9	95.9
35-49							
1973	21.4	0.2	5.1	16.2	71.7	2.0	69.7
1974	20.8	0.2	5.5	15.2	79.2	2.6	76.7
1975	20.5	0.3	4.6	15.6	80.2	2.8	77.5
1976	20.0	z	5.1	14.8	82.6	2.1	80.5
1977	19.9	0.4	4.5	15.1	87.0	2.5	84.5
1978	19.9	0.4	4.6	15.0	84.4	2.4	81.9
1979	21.3	0.6	5.1	15.6	80.8	2.1	78.7
1980	21.1	0.4	4.7	15.9	73.4	2.8	70.6

TABLE 1 (continued)

Victimization Rates for Persons Age 12 and Over by Age of Victim and Type of Crime, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 Persons)

	Crimes of Violence				Crimes of Theft		
	Total	Rape	Robbery	Assault	Total	P/L with	P/L without
50-64							
1973	13.0	0.1	4.4	8.5	46.7	3.4	43.3
1974	11.8	0.3	4.1	7.3	49.4	3.5	45.9
1975	13.5	0.2	4.3	8.9	51.3	2.7	48.6
1976	12.2	0.1	4.5	7.6	58.6	2.7	55.8
1977	12.8	0.1	4.3	8.4	57.4	2.5	54.9
1978	11.4	0.3	3.3	7.8	55.7	4.0	51.8
1979	10.3	0.1	3.5	6.7	52.9	2.5	50.4
1980	11.9	0.0	4.4	7.5	49.0	2.6	46.4
65 plus							
1973	8.4	0.1	5.0	3.4	22.3	3.3	19.1
1974	9.0	0.2	3.9	4.9	21.9	3.4	18.5
1975	7.8	0.1	4.3	3.4	24.5	3.3	21.2
1976	7.6	0.1	3.4	4.1	26.0	3.3	22.8
1977	7.5	0.1	3.4	4.0	23.6	2.4	21.2
1978	7.9	0.1	3.0	4.7	23.0	2.9	20.1
1979	5.9	z	2.5	3.4	21.6	3.5	18.1
1980	6.9	0.1	3.5	3.3	24.7	3.7	21.0

Compiled by the authors from National Crime Survey Publications for 1973-1980

TABLE 2

Victimization Rate for Household Burglary by Age of Head of Household, 1973-1980

(Rate Per 1,000 Households)

Age of head of household	Total	Forcible Entry		Unlawful Entry without force
		Completed	Attempted	
All Ages				
1973 (70,442,000)	91.7	29.7	20.0	41.9
1974 (72,163,000)	93.1	30.7	20.1	42.4
1975 (73,560,000)	91.7	30.9	20.3	40.5
1976 (74,956,000)	88.9	30.4	20.8	37.7
1977 (76,412,000)	88.5	30.1	19.7	38.8
1978 (77,980,000)	86.0	28.2	20.4	37.4
1979 (79,499,000)	84.1	27.1	17.9	39.1
1980 (80,978,000)	84.2	29.7	17.8	36.7
12-19				
1973 (1,053,000)	220.5	65.3	27.5	127.8
1974 (1,104,000)	218.5	59.1	42.6	116.9
1975 (1,110,000)	214.5	39.4	44.0	131.1
1976 (1,095,000)	207.3	54.6	39.3	113.4
1977 (1,090,000)	234.6	59.8	39.0	113.4
1978 (1,022,000)	246.6	72.2	35.5	139.0
1979 (1,046,000)	222.5	55.8	33.3	133.4
1980 (1,023,000)	180.2	42.8	18.7	118.6
20-34				
1973 (19,791,000)	122.8	41.9	29.8	51.1
1974 (20,682,000)	128.0	44.7	28.9	54.4
1975 (21,508,000)	122.2	45.2	28.7	48.3
1976 (22,092,000)	123.6	44.6	30.9	48.1
1977 (22,741,000)	120.0	43.6	28.0	48.4
1978 (23,440,000)	115.8	38.4	29.8	47.5
1979 (24,120,000)	111.5	37.6	26.2	47.7
1980 (24,695,000)	107.5	39.0	25.3	43.3
35-49				
1973 (18,292,000)	99.1	29.8	19.1	50.2
1974 (18,381,000)	99.3	30.7	18.8	49.8
1975 (18,393,000)	101.5	32.8	18.7	50.0
1976 (18,522,000)	92.8	30.4	19.6	42.9
1977 (18,887,000)	91.9	30.1	18.6	43.4
1978 (19,310,000)	93.2	27.7	20.9	44.6
1979 (19,811,500)	93.3	29.2	17.4	46.6
1980 (20,263,000)	94.3	42.2	17.4	34.7
50-64				
1973 (17,714,000)	69.7	22.1	15.4	32.2
1974 (17,974,000)	69.3	23.8	15.1	30.4
1975 (18,156,000)	68.1	23.5	15.2	29.4
1976 (18,459,000)	67.5	22.8	15.3	29.4
1977 (18,526,000)	69.6	24.3	15.4	30.0
1978 (18,643,000)	66.3	25.8	14.7	25.8
1979 (18,550,000)	64.5	22.2	12.9	29.4
1980 (18,744,000)	68.4	22.8	14.1	31.6

TABLE 2 (continued)

Victimization Rate for Household Burglary by Age of Head of Household, 1973-1980

(Rate Per 1,000 Households)

Age of head of household	Total	Forcible Entry		Unlawful Entry without force
		Completed	Attempted	
65 over				
1973 (13,592,000)	55.1	19.2	12.5	23.4
1974 (14,023,000)	54.3	16.6	13.4	24.3
1975 (14,393,000)	53.8	15.8	14.2	23.8
1976 (14,789,000)	50.2	16.9	12.8	20.5
1977 (15,168,000)	49.7	15.0	12.4	22.3
1978 (15,566,000)	45.2	13.5	11.3	20.4
1979 (15,972,000)	45.0	12.5	10.6	22.0
1980 (16,253,000)	48.3	16.7	11.1	20.5

Note: Detail may not add to total shown because of rounding. Numbers in parentheses refer to households in the group.

Source: Compiled from *Criminal Victimization in the U.S.: 1973-1979 Trends*. Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, D.C., USGPO, 1981 and *Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1980*. Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, D.C., USGPO, 1983.

TABLE 3

Personal and household crimes: Victimization numbers and rates for persons under age 65 and 65 and over, 1973-80 yearly average

Sector and type of crime	Under 65		65 and over		Percent difference between rates[1]
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	
Personal sector					
Crimes of violence	5,582,700	37.1	168,500	7.6	-79.5
Rape	160,800	1.1	2,200[2]	0.1[2]	—
Robbery	1,043,100	6.9	79,500	3.6	-48.3
Assault	4,378,700	29.1	86,800	3.9	-86.6
Aggravated assault	1,668,900	11.1	30,100	1.4	-87.7
Simple assault	2,709,900	18.0	56,600	2.6	-85.8
Crimes of theft	15,600,500	103.6	521,300	23.5	-77.4
Personal larceny with contact	442,400	2.9	71,600	3.2	+9.5
Personal larceny without contact	15,157,900	100.7	449,700	20.2	-79.9
Household sector					
Household burglary	5,946,200	97.8	748,600	50.0	-48.9
Household larceny	8,486,800	139.6	843,400	56.3	-59.7
Motor vehicle theft	1,270,400	20.9	77,000	5.1	-75.4

Note: Provisional 1980 data are included in the averages.

[1] All of the differences are statistically significant at the 95-percent confidence level, except that for personal larceny with contact, which is not significant.

[2] Estimate, based on a yearly average of fewer than 10 sample cases, is statistically unreliable. Percent difference is not shown.

Source: Crime and the Elderly, Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, December 1981

TABLE 4

Victimization Rates by Age for Robbery and Robbery with Injury and Percent of Robberies in which Victim Sustained Injury, 1977

Age	Robbery Rate Per 1,000 Population	Robbery with Injury Rate Per 1,000 Population	Percent of Robbery With Injury
12-15	10.9	2.7	24.7
16-19	9.5	3.2	33.6
20-24	9.1	3.7	40.6
25-34	6.3	2.6	41.2
35-49	4.5	1.4	31.1
50-64	4.3	1.3	30.2
65+	3.4	1.9	55.8

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, *Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1977, 1979.*

TABLE 5

Victimization Rate for Purse Snatching by Age of Woman Victim, 1977 (Rate per 1,000 Population)

Age of Woman	Victimization Rate
12-15	0.2
16-19	0.4
20-24	0.8
25-34	1.0
35-49	0.6
50-64	0.9
65+	1.1

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, *Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1977, 1979.*

TABLE 6a

Victimization Rates for Persons 12 and Over by Age, Sex and Type of Crime, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

Crimes of Violence

	Total		Rape		Robbery		Assault	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
12-15								
1973	74.2	35.8	0.2	1.3	19.1	3.3	54.9	31.3
1974	69.2	35.6	0.3	2.7	20.0	5.2	49.0	27.7
1975	67.8	40.9	0.0	1.6	17.3	5.2	50.5	34.1
1976	66.7	36.6	0.0	2.1	16.4	3.3	50.2	31.2
1977	76.5	35.8	0.5	2.7	17.2	4.4	58.8	28.8
1978	75.6	37.7	0.4	2.3	18.8	2.7	56.4	32.7
1979	67.7	38.6	0.2	2.5	15.8	2.8	51.7	33.3
1980	67.2	31.3	0.2	1.3	14.8	2.6	52.2	27.3
16-19								
1973	84.1	39.2	0.0	4.6	14.2	4.5	70.0	30.1
1974	93.5	43.0	0.0	4.9	17.3	5.5	76.2	32.7
1975	87.2	41.9	0.2	4.6	16.9	4.5	70.1	32.7
1976	86.2	47.5	0.2	4.0	13.1	5.6	72.9	37.9
1977	92.0	43.7	0.2	5.3	13.3	5.8	78.5	32.7
1978	86.4	51.6	0.5	4.6	11.3	8.2	74.5	38.9
1979	87.6	52.9	0.7	5.7	13.8	6.9	73.1	40.3
1980	89.9	47.4	0.7	5.0	15.6	6.5	73.6	35.9
20-24								
1973	84.1	45.6	0.1	6.2	17.2	5.9	66.8	33.5
1974	87.2	37.0	0.0	4.0	15.4	6.4	71.8	26.6
1975	76.2	43.5	0.3	4.7	14.5	7.3	61.3	31.4
1976	72.5	45.1	0.9	4.2	12.7	8.0	58.9	32.9
1977	87.5	40.1	0.5	2.9	12.8	5.6	74.2	31.6
1978	90.5	44.4	1.0	3.8	10.2	7.2	79.3	33.4
1979	99.0	46.6	0.5	4.7	17.6	6.9	81.0	35.1
1980	91.7	46.6	0.8	3.9	14.3	7.0	76.6	35.7
25-34								
1973	45.9	23.4	0.1	2.4	7.0	4.0	38.8	17.1
1974	49.9	27.9	0.1	2.5	9.0	5.2	40.9	20.4
1975	52.3	26.8	0.1	2.3	9.0	3.7	43.2	20.8
1976	53.1	28.7	0.2	2.2	8.3	4.5	44.5	22.0
1977	54.8	29.7	0.1	1.8	8.5	4.1	46.2	23.8
1978	54.7	25.7	0.1	2.0	8.0	3.8	46.6	19.8
1979	57.9	30.2	0.4	2.1	7.6	4.5	50.0	23.5
1980	50.2	29.7	0.3	2.2	9.8	4.8	40.0	22.7
35-49								
1973	27.2	16.1	0.0	0.4	7.0	3.2	20.2	12.5
1974	27.3	14.9	0.0	0.4	7.6	3.5	19.6	11.0
1975	25.5	15.9	0.1	0.4	5.7	3.5	19.6	11.9
1976	24.8	15.5	0.0	0.1	6.9	3.5	17.9	12.0
1977	24.9	15.2	0.0	0.8	5.9	3.2	19.1	11.3
1978	25.5	14.7	0.0	0.7	6.4	2.9	19.1	11.1
1979	24.6	18.1	0.1	1.0	6.6	3.7	18.0	13.4
1980	25.4	17.0	0.1	0.8	5.2	4.2	20.1	12.0

TABLE 6a (continued)

Victimization Rates for Persons 12 and Over by Age, Sex and Type of Crime, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

Crimes of Violence

Age	Total		Rape		Robbery		Assault	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
50-64								
1973	18.8	7.8	0.0	0.1	6.5	2.6	12.3	5.2
1974	15.8	8.2	0.0	0.6	5.4	3.0	10.4	4.5
1975	17.9	9.6	0.0	0.4	6.4	2.5	11.4	6.7
1976	15.8	9.0	0.1	0.1	5.9	3.2	9.8	5.6
1977	16.8	9.2	0.1	0.1	5.2	3.4	11.5	5.7
1978	15.3	7.8	0.0	0.5	5.3	1.5	10.0	5.8
1979	12.4	8.4	0.1	0.1	4.2	2.8	8.1	5.5
1980	15.5	8.6	0.0	0.0	5.6	3.3	10.0	5.3
65 over								
1973	10.7	6.9	0.0	0.2	5.9	4.3	4.8	2.4
1974	11.9	7.0	0.0	0.3	5.2	3.0	6.7	3.7
1975	9.7	6.5	0.0	0.1	5.6	3.4	4.0	3.0
1976	12.5	4.2	0.1	0.0	5.9	1.7	6.5	2.5
1977	10.5	5.4	0.0	0.2	4.2	2.8	6.4	2.3
1978	10.0	6.4	0.0	0.2	3.6	2.6	6.4	3.6
1979	7.1	5.0	0.0	0.1	3.4	1.8	3.8	3.1
1980	11.1	3.9	0.0	0.2	5.2	2.2	5.9	1.5
All Ages								
1973	44.1	21.6	0.1	1.8	9.9	3.8	34.1	16.1
1974	45.1	21.7	z	1.8	10.3	4.3	34.8	15.6
1975	43.5	22.9	0.1	1.7	9.8	4.0	33.6	17.3
1976	42.9	23.1	0.2	1.4	9.1	4.0	33.6	17.6
1977	46.4	22.4	0.2	1.6	8.7	4.0	37.5	16.9
1978	45.7	22.8	0.2	1.7	8.3	3.7	37.2	17.4
1979	45.5	24.5	0.2	1.8	8.8	4.0	36.5	18.7
1980	44.2	22.9	0.3	1.6	9.0	4.2	35.0	17.1

Compiled by the authors from National Crime Survey Publications, 1973-1980

TABLE 6b

Victimization Rates of Persons 12 and Over by Age, Sex and Type of Crime, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

Crimes of Theft

	Total		P/L with Contact		P/L without Contact	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
12-15						
1973	185.2	158.3	2.2	2.1	183.0	156.2
1974	177.2	155.8	4.0	2.2	173.2	153.6
1975	172.4	143.7	4.3	1.6	168.2	142.1
1976	158.4	138.7	3.5	0.9	154.9	137.8
1977	160.8	126.9	3.3	1.3	157.6	125.6
1978	164.0	126.6	3.0	0.7	161.0	125.9
1979	148.9	134.6	4.0	1.8	144.9	132.8
1980	123.4	113.4	3.4	2.4	120.0	111.0
16-19						
1973	184.1	139.1	5.0	3.6	179.0	135.5
1974	183.6	136.7	4.4	3.1	179.2	133.6
1975	179.1	145.6	4.1	2.5	175.1	143.1
1976	156.5	137.7	5.1	3.1	151.4	134.8
1977	165.5	134.2	3.6	1.9	161.8	132.4
1978	166.4	139.0	3.8	2.0	162.6	136.9
1979	153.3	139.0	2.6	2.8	150.7	136.2
1980	132.0	117.0	2.9	4.6	129.1	112.4
20-24						
1973	154.9	113.6	4.6	4.6	150.3	109.1
1974	173.2	121.5	2.7	4.0	170.5	117.5
1975	169.0	125.7	4.5	4.2	164.6	121.4
1976	164.4	128.9	3.5	4.2	160.9	124.7
1977	176.6	132.1	3.6	3.4	173.0	128.7
1978	170.5	135.1	4.5	5.2	166.1	129.8
1979	168.8	129.6	4.9	3.7	163.9	125.9
1980	147.8	125.9	1.7	4.9	146.1	121.0
25-34						
1973	112.1	86.6	2.0	3.4	110.2	83.2
1974	123.1	90.1	3.4	1.9	119.7	88.2
1975	125.2	95.2	2.1	3.7	123.2	91.5
1976	122.0	104.7	1.9	3.6	120.1	101.1
1977	117.7	111.8	1.8	3.6	115.9	108.2
1978	123.1	111.1	2.2	3.5	120.9	107.6
1979	112.4	103.1	2.3	3.3	110.2	99.8
1980	107.4	90.3	2.5	3.2	104.9	87.1
35-49						
1973	74.1	69.4	1.1	2.7	73.0	66.7
1974	84.2	74.6	2.6	2.5	81.6	72.1
1975	82.7	77.9	2.4	3.1	80.4	74.8
1976	86.0	79.4	1.6	2.6	84.3	76.8
1977	88.4	85.6	2.3	2.6	86.1	83.0
1978	80.3	88.2	1.7	3.2	78.7	85.0
1979	80.2	81.2	2.1	2.2	78.2	79.1
1980	69.7	76.8	1.4	4.1	68.4	72.8

TABLE 6b (continued)

Victimization Rates of Persons 12 and Over by Age, Sex and Type of Crime, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

Crimes of Theft

Age	Total		P/L with Contact		P/L without Contact	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
50-64						
1973	48.0	45.5	2.8	4.0	45.3	41.5
1974	54.7	44.6	2.0	4.8	52.7	39.8
1975	55.3	47.7	2.2	3.2	53.2	44.5
1976	65.3	52.5	1.9	3.5	63.3	49.0
1977	64.5	51.0	1.8	3.2	62.8	47.8
1978	59.0	52.7	2.7	5.1	56.3	47.7
1979	56.0	50.1	1.4	3.5	54.6	46.6
1980	49.8	48.2	2.0	3.0	47.7	45.2
65 over						
1973	28.4	18.1	2.8	3.6	25.6	14.5
1974	24.3	20.2	2.5	4.1	21.8	16.1
1975	27.1	22.7	2.2	4.0	24.9	18.7
1976	31.4	22.3	2.1	4.0	29.2	18.3
1977	30.2	19.0	1.8	2.9	28.4	16.1
1978	28.9	18.9	2.1	3.5	26.8	15.5
1979	25.6	18.9	2.9	4.0	22.7	14.9
1980	29.8	21.1	2.2	4.8	27.6	16.4
All Ages						
1973	102.9	80.3	2.6	3.4	100.2	76.8
1974	108.7	82.3	3.0	3.2	105.7	79.1
1975	107.9	84.8	2.9	3.3	105.1	81.5
1976	106.2	86.8	2.5	3.2	103.7	83.6
1977	107.9	87.5	2.4	2.9	105.5	84.6
1978	105.6	88.7	2.7	3.5	102.9	85.1
1979	99.3	85.1	2.6	3.1	96.7	82.0
1980	88.6	77.5	2.2	3.8	86.5	73.7

Compiled by the authors from National Crime Survey Publications, 1973-1980

TABLE 7a

Victimization Rates for Persons 12 and over by Age, Race and Type of Crime, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

Crimes of Violence

	Total		Rape		Robbery		Assault	
AGE	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
12-15								
1973	58.0	78.0	1.0	*2.0	11.0	18.0	45.0	58.0
1974	52.7	53.5	1.3	*2.7	11.2	21.5	40.2	29.3
1975	53.3	60.3	0.7	*1.2	10.7	15.9	41.9	43.3
1976	52.1	53.9	0.9	*1.9	9.3	14.7	41.8	37.3
1977	55.0	69.2	1.6	*1.7	8.8	23.4	44.6	44.1
1978	54.0	76.3	1.1	*2.4	9.1	21.8	43.7	52.0
1979	53.8	51.6	1.4	*1.3	8.9	11.8	43.6	38.5
1980	48.7	53.4	*0.8	*0.7	7.1	17.2	40.8	35.5
16-19								
1973	68.0	74.0	2.0	5.0	9.0	15.0	56.0	54.0
1974	67.7	70.2	2.6	*1.9	9.8	22.1	55.4	46.2
1975	65.4	55.6	2.4	*2.1	10.4	11.2	52.6	42.4
1976	66.8	67.2	1.6	5.5	8.6	13.7	56.6	48.1
1977	71.0	49.7	3.0	*1.2	9.4	11.1	58.5	37.4
1978	71.8	55.6	2.3	*4.1	8.8	16.4	60.7	35.1
1979	73.0	57.7	3.3	3.0	10.0	12.8	59.8	42.0
1980	69.5	69.1	2.7	*4.5	10.1	18.6	56.8	46.0
20-24								
1973	65.0	64.0	3.0	3.0	10.0	19.0	52.0	42.0
1974	62.0	52.0	1.6	5.4	9.9	16.8	50.5	29.7
1975	59.0	66.1	2.6	*2.7	9.2	23.2	47.2	40.2
1976	56.3	74.4	2.4	*4.2	8.6	21.6	45.3	48.6
1977	64.3	61.1	1.6	*2.2	9.1	10.1	53.7	48.7
1978	67.2	61.9	2.1	*5.0	8.5	10.6	56.5	46.3
1979	71.0	75.5	2.7	1.6	11.3	18.2	57.8	55.6
1980	69.0	65.5	2.4	*2.6	9.6	18.4	57.0	44.4
25-34								
1973	36.0	44.0	1.0	3.0	6.0	12.0	29.0	29.0
1974	36.7	52.9	1.1	*3.0	5.8	17.0	29.7	32.9
1975	38.2	48.0	1.2	*1.5	5.4	13.7	31.6	32.7
1976	38.5	58.0	1.2	*2.0	5.3	13.7	32.0	42.3
1977	41.1	52.6	0.9	*1.6	5.6	12.3	34.6	38.8
1978	39.8	44.7	1.0	*2.1	5.2	11.3	33.7	31.3
1979	43.2	48.8	1.1	2.9	5.3	12.7	36.8	33.3
1980	38.4	47.5	1.2	*0.7	6.2	17.5	31.0	29.3
35-49								
1973	20.0	37.0	z	*z	4.0	14.0	16.0	23.0
1974	19.8	29.7	*0.2	*0.7	4.6	13.4	15.1	15.5
1975	18.7	33.8	*0.2	*0.8	3.9	10.2	14.6	22.8
1976	19.9	22.9	*z	*0.0	4.5	11.3	15.4	11.6
1977	19.4	23.1	0.4	*0.5	3.9	9.0	15.2	13.6
1978	20.1	19.8	0.4	*0.0	4.2	6.9	15.5	12.9
1979	20.0	30.5	0.5	*1.0	3.9	14.8	15.7	14.7
1980	20.5	25.8	0.5	*0.0	4.3	9.0	15.8	16.8

TABLE 7a (continued)

Victimization Rates for Persons 12 and over by Age, Race and Type of Crime, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

Crimes of Violence

	Total		Rape		Robbery		Assault	
AGE	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
50-64								
1973	12.0	20.0	*z	*0.0	4.0	11.0	8.0	9.0
1974	10.9	18.0	*0.3	*0.5	3.6	9.2	7.0	8.4
1975	12.6	23.0	*0.2	*0.0	3.4	14.0	9.0	8.9
1976	10.7	26.6	*z	*0.6	3.5	13.6	7.2	12.4
1977	11.1	28.5	*0.1	*0.0	2.9	18.0	8.1	10.5
1978	10.4	22.9	*0.2	*1.3	2.6	10.5	7.6	11.1
1979	9.4	19.1	*0.1	*0.5	2.9	9.8	6.5	8.8
1980	11.5	15.4	*0.0	*0.0	4.1	7.5	7.4	7.9
65 over								
1973	8.0	18.0	*z	*0.0	4.0	12.0	3.0	6.0
1974	8.7	10.0	*0.1	0.9	3.8	*4.8	4.8	*4.3
1975	7.0	15.9	*0.1	*0.0	3.5	12.7	3.5	*3.2
1976	7.1	13.2	*0.1	*0.0	3.1	6.3	3.9	6.5
1977	7.0	13.5	*0.1	*0.0	3.0	7.9	3.9	5.6
1978	7.3	14.0	*0.0	*1.2	2.8	5.0	4.5	7.8
1979	5.3	11.8	*0.0	*0.4	2.1	6.0	3.2	5.3
1980	6.2	14.3	*0.1	*0.0	2.7	12.0	3.4	*2.3

Compiled by the authors from National Crime Survey Publications, 1973-1980.
*Based on few cases; not statistically reliable.

Table 7b

Victimization Rates for Persons 12 and Over by Age, Race and Type of Crime 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

Crimes of Theft

	Total		P/L with contact		P/L without contact	
Age	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
12-15						
1973	186.0	117.0	2.0	3.0	184.0	114.0
1974	176.6	109.6	3.0	*3.9	173.5	105.7
1975	170.9	92.5	3.1	*2.6	167.8	89.9
1976	157.9	101.9	2.3	*1.2	155.6	100.7
1977	153.8	94.0	2.0	4.5	151.8	89.5
1978	153.3	105.7	1.6	*3.6	151.7	102.1
1979	145.0	132.6	2.3	6.7	142.7	125.9
1980	122.7	97.2	2.8	*3.5	119.9	93.7
16-19						
1973	178.0	113.0	5.0	3.0	173.0	110.0
1974	168.3	102.5	3.7	*2.6	164.6	99.8
1975	169.1	121.0	3.3	*3.7	165.8	117.4
1976	154.6	101.1	3.9	5.3	150.7	95.8
1977	157.6	99.4	2.6	*4.1	155.1	95.2
1978	161.6	102.6	2.5	4.9	159.1	97.8
1979	153.9	97.6	2.8	*1.6	151.1	96.0
1980	129.7	87.4	3.8	*4.3	125.9	83.0
20-24						
1973	138.0	135.0	4.0	13.0	135.0	123.0
1974	150.3	119.2	3.1	5.9	147.2	113.2
1975	149.1	133.2	3.6	10.4	145.5	122.8
1976	150.2	121.2	2.9	9.7	147.3	111.5
1977	158.4	122.6	2.7	7.6	155.6	114.9
1978	155.4	132.7	4.1	8.7	151.3	124.0
1979	148.8	143.5	3.8	8.7	145.0	134.8
1980	138.7	124.9	3.2	5.2	135.6	119.7
25-34						
1973	101.0	103.0	2.0	7.0	98.0	97.0
1974	106.4	106.8	2.2	6.0	104.2	100.9
1975	109.5	116.2	2.5	6.5	107.0	109.7
1976	113.6	117.0	2.2	7.0	111.4	109.9
1977	113.3	125.2	2.3	6.0	111.5	119.3
1978	117.1	120.5	2.5	5.5	114.6	115.0
1979	108.5	105.4	2.5	5.0	106.0	100.5
1980	98.3	106.7	2.4	6.6	95.9	100.1
35-49						
1973	75.0	64.0	2.0	5.0	74.0	59.0
1974	79.5	77.3	1.9	9.0	77.6	68.3
1975	80.9	78.4	2.1	8.1	78.9	70.3
1976	83.3	72.8	1.7	5.8	82.1	67.0
1977	87.6	84.4	2.1	6.0	85.6	78.4
1978	85.6	76.4	1.9	6.3	83.7	70.1
1979	82.5	69.0	1.7	5.0	80.8	64.0
1980	74.2	67.5	1.8	9.8	72.4	57.7

Table 7b (continued)

Victimization Rates for Persons 12 and Over by Age, Race and Type of Crime 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

Crimes of Theft

	Total		P/L with contact		P/L without contact	
Age	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
50-64						
1973	49.0	41.0	3.0	10.0	46.0	31.0
1974	50.1	42.5	3.0	7.8	47.1	34.6
1975	50.9	57.7	2.0	10.3	48.9	47.6
1976	58.7	57.4	2.3	7.2	56.4	50.2
1977	57.3	59.8	2.4	3.4	54.9	56.4
1978	55.6	59.1	3.6	7.9	52.0	51.3
1979	54.3	39.7	2.2	4.3	52.1	35.4
1980	49.7	41.4	2.2	5.3	47.6	36.1
65 Over						
1973	22.0	30.0	3.0	9.0	19.0	21.0
1974	21.7	23.3	3.2	5.8	18.5	17.5
1975	24.6	24.4	2.9	7.4	21.7	17.0
1976	25.6	27.5	2.8	7.5	22.7	20.0
1977	23.1	27.0	1.7	9.0	21.5	17.9
1978	22.9	23.6	2.6	6.5	20.4	17.0
1979	21.2	26.5	3.0	9.3	18.2	17.2
1980	24.9	22.7	3.3	6.6	21.6	16.1

Compiled by the authors from National Crime Survey Publications, 1973-1980.

TABLE 8

Victimization Rates for Persons 12 and Over by Race, Sex, Type of Crime and Age, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

	WHITE				BLACK			
	Crimes of Violence		Crimes of Theft		Crimes of Violence		Crimes of Theft	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
12-15								
1973	77.0	38.0	200.0	171.0	102.0	54.0	110.0	124.0
1974	69.3	35.4	187.8	184.9	70.0	37.2	119.7	99.6
1975	66.4	39.6	184.9	156.4	72.5	48.2	107.0	78.1
1976	67.2	36.3	168.5	146.8	68.4	39.7	105.9	98.0
1977	72.2	37.1	167.8	139.1	107.5	31.5	122.0	66.3
1978	69.1	38.1	169.8	136.1	115.1	37.2	131.1	80.1
1979	66.3	40.7	152.4	137.2	74.7	28.3	135.4	129.7
1980	64.6	32.0	128.3	116.8	75.7	30.6	99.0	95.3
16-19								
1973	94.0	42.0	203.0	154.0	88.0	62.0	137.0	90.0
1974	95.6	40.5	190.6	146.4	82.1	59.2	139.9	68.1
1975	89.1	42.2	184.6	153.9	72.9	39.8	143.6	100.5
1976	88.4	45.2	163.4	145.8	72.0	62.7	115.0	88.1
1977	96.3	43.8	173.2	142.1	55.5	44.1	109.4	89.8
1978	89.3	54.3	173.8	149.3	70.6	41.3	120.9	85.1
1979	91.9	54.0	159.8	147.9	67.8	48.5	110.7	85.6
1980	93.3	45.6	136.0	123.3	77.7	61.2	99.4	76.1
20-24								
1973	87.0	43.0	157.0	120.0	97.0	36.0	183.0	97.0
1974	88.8	36.5	176.4	125.6	74.8	34.7	154.1	92.8
1975	75.5	43.2	167.7	131.3	87.7	49.5	177.5	99.2
1976	71.3	41.7	165.7	135.0	82.9	67.6	159.5	90.3
1977	88.8	40.3	182.0	135.2	84.0	42.3	134.3	113.1
1978	92.9	42.0	171.7	139.5	70.1	55.1	168.0	103.8
1979	98.9	45.3	167.6	130.3	95.2	59.2	168.5	122.9
1980	92.5	46.0	147.8	129.9	82.8	51.7	146.3	107.8
25-34								
1973	49.0	23.0	113.0	88.0	38.0	49.0	117.0	92.0
1974	48.3	25.4	122.6	90.8	64.9	43.6	132.3	87.0
1975	52.3	24.6	122.9	96.5	55.4	42.2	151.5	88.9
1976	50.8	26.3	122.1	105.3	76.6	43.2	130.6	106.1
1977	53.7	28.6	115.6	112.0	67.0	41.0	138.5	114.5
1978	55.2	24.6	122.3	111.9	52.5	38.4	129.0	113.7
1979	57.0	29.5	112.8	104.3	61.7	38.6	114.4	98.3
1980	48.8	28.0	106.3	90.4	55.7	41.1	116.1	99.3
35-49								
1973	25.0	15.0	77.0	73.0	43.0	33.0	80.0	52.0
1974	25.4	14.5	83.1	76.0	43.1	19.1	98.3	60.8
1975	24.7	13.2	82.5	79.4	31.8	35.4	88.5	70.5
1976	24.5	15.4	87.0	80.7	30.2	17.0	75.6	70.5
1977	24.3	14.7	87.5	87.7	29.8	17.0	98.3	73.2
1978	25.6	14.8	81.5	89.5	25.9	15.0	71.3	80.4
1979	23.4	16.8	81.8	83.2	36.3	25.9	66.3	71.1
1980	24.7	16.5	70.3	77.9	31.6	21.3	63.3	70.7

TABLE 8 (continued)

Victimization Rates for Persons 12 and Over by Race, Sex, Type of Crime and Age, 1973-1980 (per 1,000 persons)

	WHITE				BLACK			
	Crimes of Violence		Crimes of Theft		Crimes of Violence		Crimes of Theft	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
50-64								
1973	17.0	8.0	50.0	47.0	31.0	11.0	51.0	32.0
1974	14.4	7.8	55.4	45.3	30.6	7.3	48.6	37.3
1975	16.3	9.3	54.5	47.6	36.1	12.0	63.4	52.9
1976	13.7	8.0	64.1	53.9	36.9	18.1	77.2	40.9
1977	14.4	8.1	63.5	51.6	41.1	18.2	74.5	47.7
1978	13.8	7.2	59.6	51.9	33.1	14.4	56.7	60.4
1979	11.2	7.7	57.3	51.6	25.4	13.9	43.2	36.8
1980	14.4	8.9	49.8	49.7	25.8	*6.9	49.0	35.2
65 OVER								
1973	9.0	6.0	28.0	18.0	28.0	11.0	42.0	22.0
1974	11.4	6.9	24.0	20.1	14.1	7.1	26.2	21.2
1975	8.4	6.1	26.7	23.2	22.6	11.2	34.9	17.2
1976	12.4	3.4	31.5	21.4	14.5	12.3	29.1	26.4
1977	9.9	4.9	29.5	18.7	18.0	10.1	31.6	23.6
1978	9.5	5.7	28.2	19.3	14.3	13.9	33.3	16.7
1979	6.9	4.2	25.0	18.5	*10.5	12.7	32.1	22.5
1980	9.7	3.8	29.5	21.6	27.1	*5.2	31.6	16.4

Compiled by the authors from National Crime Survey Publications for 1973-1980

TABLE 9

Robbery with Injury (R/I) and Larceny with Contact (L/C) Rates by Age of Victim in Thirteen American Cities (Rates per 1,000 Population 12 and Over)

	Age													
	12-15		16-19		20-24		25-34		35-49		50-64		65 & over	
City	R/I	L/C	R/I	L/C	R/I	L/C	R/I	L/C	R/I	L/C	R/I	L/C	R/I	L/C
Boston	9	4	8	31	10	32	6	25	6	25	11	27	10	32
Buffalo	7	3	8	5	6	6	6	7	4	8	6	8	3	7
Cincinnati	8	4	9	6	7	6	5	5	5	7	4	7	4	10
Houston	4	5	4	6	9	7	5	6	4	5	2	5	1	9
Miami	1	0	4	5	3	4	3	7	3	5	4	5	3	7
Milwaukee	7	5	6	9	5	6	5	5	6	9	8	8	7	9
Minneapolis	15	7	10	6	6	6	5	3	7	7	7	7	5	9
New Orleans	7	6	6	8	4	13	7	11	4	13	5	19	4	20
Oakland	8	1	6	10	7	13	4	9	4	8	7	13	12	14
Pittsburgh	4	4	9	9	5	7	5	7	4	7	8	9	4	6
San Diego	8	9	6	11	6	7	3	4	2	2	2	3	3	4
San Francisco	11	7	8	17	9	20	9	18	9	17	7	27	10	43
Washington D.C.	4	4	7	9	4	11	5	11	4	11	4	13	3	21
National Sample 1974	3.3	3.1	3.5	3.7	3.3	3.4	2.1	2.6	2.1	2.6	1.5	3.5	1.9	3.4

Sources: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, *Criminal Victimization Surveys in 13 American Cities, 1974, 1977.*

U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, *Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1974, 1977.*

TABLE 10

Percentage of Violent Crime by Age of Victim and Various Offender Variables

Age of Victim	12-16	17-20	21-26	27-32	33-39	40-49	50-64	65+
Violent Offender Variables								
Percent by youths	86	50	20	15	24	23	28	28
Percent by gangs	23	18	12	11	15	16	17	16
Percent unarmed	71	63	65	68	67	67	74	74
Percent with gun	3	11	15	12	15	15	12	10
Percent by strangers	52	61	64	62	56	55	64	71
% Black on white crime	18	18	19	20	20	17	29	29

Source: George Antunes, Fay Lomax Cook, Thomas D. Cook, and Wesley G. Skogan, "Patterns of Personal Crime Against the Elderly: Findings from a National Survey," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1977.

TABLE 11

Percentage of Predatory Crime by Age of Victim and Various Offender Variables

Age of Victim	12-16	17-20	21-26	27-32	33-39	40-49	50-64	65+
Predatory Offender Variables								
Percent by youths	89	46	34	32	37	33	45	51
Percent by gangs	37	20	23	11	27	24	28	21
Percent unarmed	74	50	45	45	45	42	55	60
Percent with gun	4	26	30	24	25	19	17	16
Percent by strangers	81	86	88	89	86	94	94	92
% Whites by blacks	46	39	50	58	45	49	61	65

Source: George Antunes, Fay Lomax Cook, Thomas D. Cook, and Wesley G. Skogan, "Patterns of Personal Crime Against the Elderly: Findings from a National Survey," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1977.

TABLE 12

Percent of Victimizations in Which Victims Took Self-Protective Measures by Age of Victim and Type of Crime — 1973-1980

Age	Crimes of Violence	Rape	Robbery Total	Robbery w/Injury	Robbery w/o Injury	Assault Total	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault
12-29								
1974	66.8	81.2	57.9	70.0	53.1	68.5	70.9	66.9
1975	64.7	83.6	51.3	66.6	45.5	67.2	69.8	65.7
1976	65.8	76.1	59.7	64.2	58.0	66.7	68.5	65.5
1977	68.6	87.1	66.2	78.7	61.2	68.3	70.4	67.1
1978	67.9	87.7	58.2	68.2	55.5	69.1	69.1	69.1
1979	75.9	78.2	67.8	78.1	63.1	77.4	80.2	75.9
1980	76.1	85.0	65.5	68.7	64.5	78.0	78.2	77.8
20-34								
1974	70.6	90.3	55.5	67.6	50.3	73.2	73.4	73.0
1975	70.8	80.7	59.3	59.2	59.3	72.8	73.6	72.3
1976	70.6	87.0	61.7	71.4	57.3	71.7	74.3	70.0
1977	69.9	69.6	55.7	59.9	52.7	72.4	77.7	69.1
1978	72.1	66.9	65.7	76.0	60.3	73.4	73.8	73.1
1979	76.3	85.6	67.3	80.0	60.1	77.6	79.9	76.2
1980	78.7	83.1	65.9	77.3	59.7	81.2	82.5	80.5
35-49								
1974	59.3	65.1*	48.8	45.0	51.1	63.1	65.8	60.8
1975	58.3	52.0*	43.4	31.2	49.4	62.8	66.4	60.2
1976	63.4	100.0*	51.3	57.5	47.9	67.5	67.0	67.7
1977	64.5	79.8	47.1	45.8	47.8	69.3	69.7	69.1
1978	66.9	74.8	53.9	53.3	54.2	70.7	69.2	71.4
1979	65.3	76.9	49.8	63.5	44.3	69.9	72.5	68.3
1980	69.4	58.7*	56.5	58.0	55.4	73.5	75.2	72.6
50-64								
1974	56.8	64.9*	46.4	51.4	43.7	62.3	63.0	61.9
1975	50.0	100.0*	31.2	43.2	23.4	58.0	50.2	62.7
1976	58.8	100.0*	47.5	54.3	42.7	64.9	70.7	60.1
1977	57.1	65.8	48.2	50.2	47.2	61.4	61.5	61.4
1978	58.7	100.0*	46.5	42.8	48.7	62.4	52.4	68.2
1979	57.3	45.6*	46.9	53.5	42.9	62.9	54.5	67.2
1980	64.5	0.0	57.8	72.4	46.8	68.5	62.3	72.5
65 OVER								
1974	55.1	100.0*	51.0	43.1	58.6	56.6	52.4	58.5
1975	43.4	0.0*	42.5	51.1	39.2	45.4	43.8	46.6
1976	52.3	100.0*	37.9	34.4	40.1	63.6	76.3	61.6
1977	44.7	100.0*	41.8	39.2	45.4	45.5	38.6	48.4
1978	46.5	100.0*	41.0	51.8	33.6	48.8	56.1	44.5
1979	44.8	100.0*	33.4	24.2	39.9	52.5	61.6	48.2
1980	55.3	48.1*	53.5	59.4	50.1	57.3	61.1	54.9

*Based on 10 or fewer observations, statistically unreliable. Compiled from National Crime Survey publications 1974-1980.

TABLE 13

Percent of Victimizations in Which Victims Sustained Physical Injury by Age and Type of Crime, 1973-1980

AGE		ROBBERY & ASSAULT	ROBBERY	ASSAULT
12-15				
	1973	30.0	25.0	31.0
	1974	33.0	26.1	35.3
	1975	35.6	23.0	38.9
	1976	29.6	20.8	31.8
	1977	31.2	24.4	32.9
	1978	34.1	18.3	37.9
	1979	31.7	25.3	33.1
	1980	33.9	22.3	36.4
16-19				
	1973	31.0	36.0	29.0
	1974	29.7	30.8	29.5
	1975	31.2	32.6	30.9
	1976	35.1	34.4	35.2
	1977	31.6	33.0	31.4
	1978	29.5	24.8	30.3
	1979	30.4	37.0	29.2
	1980	31.7	26.2	32.7
20-24				
	1973	29.0	35.0	27.0
	1974	28.3	30.9	27.7
	1975	28.0	29.7	27.6
	1976	32.6	27.4	33.8
	1977	31.7	40.6	27.1
	1978	26.7	36.5	25.2
	1979	30.9	36.1	29.8
	1980	32.6	35.3	32.1
25-34				
	1973	27.0	32.0	27.0
	1974	25.5	29.5	24.5
	1975	27.6	35.5	26.0
	1976	26.8	34.2	25.4
	1977	26.9	41.3	24.3
	1978	28.1	33.0	27.3
	1979	29.3	36.0	28.1
	1980	29.0	35.3	27.5
35-49				
	1973	28.0	39.0	24.0
	1974	28.4	37.8	25.1
	1975	28.4	33.3	27.0
	1976	26.3	35.2	23.2
	1977	29.0	31.3	28.3
	1978	28.9	39.1	25.8
	1979	27.5	28.9	27.0
	1980	30.4	40.6	27.4

TABLE 13 (continued)

Percent of Victimizations in Which Victims Sustained Physical Injury by Age and Type of Crime, 1973-1980

AGE	ROBBERY & ASSAULT	ROBBERY	ASSAULT
50-64			
1973	30.0	43.0	23.0
1974	27.9	35.9	23.4
1975	28.2	39.4	22.7
1976	27.9	42.1	19.5
1977	25.5	31.3	22.5
1978	24.4	37.7	18.8
1979	25.9	38.1	19.7
1980	29.4	42.8	21.7
65 PLUS			
1973	32.0	34.0	29.0
1974	31.9	49.1	18.3
1975	30.3	27.8	33.4
1976	29.4	37.9	22.4
1977	35.3	57.5	16.7
1978	28.2	40.0	20.6
1979	29.2	41.7	20.0
1980	28.8	36.7	20.6

Compiled from National Crime Survey publications, 1973-1980.

TABLE 14

Personal Crimes of Violence: Percent of Victimization in Which the Victim Received Hospital Care by Age of Victims and Type of Crime, 1973-1980

Age	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
				Crimes of Violence +				
12-19	5	5.9	6.5	6.2	6.4	7.0	6.9	6.5
20-34	8	8.1	10.0	8.0	7.4	7.4	8.6	8.4
35-49	8	11.2	9.5	9.9	9.0	9.1	9.6	10.4
50-64	11	11.0	9.8	10.6	8.5	10.4	6.4	11.1
65 plus	12	8.6	8.3	10.0	8.1	8.3	6.1	10.9
				Robbery				
12-19	4	3.7	4.1	6.3	6.2	5.0	6.9	6.0
20-34	11	11.3	13.3	9.2	10.0	8.7	11.8	10.7
35-49	9	13.0	12.9	13.2	7.3	13.9	9.6	12.3
50-64	17	12.7	15.2	16.1	7.6	18.5	9.5	14.3
65 plus	11	14.7	8.5*	18.9	14.9	9.4*	9.7	15.3*
				Assault				
12-19	5	6.5	6.8	5.8	5.8	6.8	6.9	6.3
20-34	7	7.1	8.7	7.4	6.7	7.0	7.7	7.8
35-49	8	10.4	8.2	8.7	8.8	7.4	8.8	9.2
50-64	7	9.0	6.1	7.5	9.0	7.3	4.2	9.2
65 plus	12*	2.5*	8.2*	2.8*	2.7	7.8*	3.6	5.0*

+ Includes data on rape, not shown separately

*Estimate based on 10 or fewer cases, is not statistically reliable. Compiled from published reports of the National Crime Survey, 1973-1980.

TABLE 15

Age and Fear of Personal Crime

Percent Reporting "UNSAFE" on Street Alone in Neighborhood at Night

Age	Cumulative National Opinion Research Center (NORC) Surveys (1973-1977)	Census Bureau Five-City Surveys (1973)	Census Bureau Thirteen-City Surveys (1974)	Northwestern Three-City Telephone Surveys (1977)
16-20	42%	40%	17%	18%
21-26	39%	39%	16%	24%
27-32	44%	41%	17%	26%
33-39	40%	43%	19%	27%
40-49	41%	46%	24%	25%
50-59	44%	52%	26%	40%
60 and older	52%	63%	41%	54%
(N)	(5951)	(11419)	(11818)	(1213)

Source: Fay Cook, Wesley Skogan, Thomas D. Cook and George Antunes, *Setting and Reformulating Policy Agendas: Criminal Victimization of the Elderly,* (forthcoming from the Oxford University Press).

(Computed by the authors from original data. General Social Survey data are for the years 1973, 1974, 1976 and 1977.)

TABLE 16

Respondents reporting fear of walking alone at night, by selected demographic characteristics, United States, 1967, 1972, 1975, and 1979

QUESTION: "Is there any area right around here — that is within a mile — where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?"

	1967	1972	1975	1979	1983
National	31	42	45	42	45
SEX					
Male	16	22	26	25	26
Female	44	60	63	57	62
RACE					
White	29	42	43	40	43
Non-White	46	48	57	57	58
EDUCATION					
College	29	42	42	36	43
High School	31	42	45	44	45
Grade School	33	45	50	48	48
OCCUPATION					
Professional and Business	32	39	40	40	38
Clerical and Sales	40	46	51	45	51
Manual Workers	31	41	43	40	42
Nonlabor Force	na	na	54	51	55
AGE					
Total Under 30 Years	na	na	43	44	45
18 to 24 years	na	41	44	45	45
25 to 29 years	na	37	42	42	44
30 to 49 years	30	38	42	32	39
50 years and older	33	48	50	49	50
CITY SIZE					
500,000 and over	40	48	56	52	53
50,000 to 499,999	38	51	50	50	54
2,500 to 49,999	22	40	45	38	40
Under 2,500 rural	21	28	28	25	29

Source: Gallup *The Gallup Opinion Index*, Report No. 172 (Princeton, NJ: *The Gallup Poll* (November 1979) p. 22 Reprinted by permission. Rept. #21D, March 1983.

TABLE 17
Percentage Fearful by Age

Age Group	Percentage	Total
Youth	41%	(387)
Middle Age	42%	(717)
Elderly	50%	(383)

Source: Margaret M. Braungart, Richard G. Braungart, and William J. Hoyer, "Age, Sex, and Social Factors in Fear of Crime," *Sociological Focus* 13 (1) 1980,59.

TABLE 18
Percentage Fearful by Age and Sex

	SEX			
Age Group	Male	Total	Female	Total
Youth	19%	(186)	61%	(201)
Middle Age	20%	(312)	59%	(405)
Elderly	32%	(166)	64%	(217)

Source: Margaret M. Braungart, Richard G. Braungart and William J. Hoyer, "Age, Sex, and Social Factors in Fear of Crime," *Sociological Focus* 13 (1) 1980, 59.

TABLE 19
Percentage Fearful by Age, Sex, and Place of Residence

	RESIDENCE							
	Large Urban				Smaller City or Community			
Age Group	Male	Total	Female	Total	Male	Total	Female	Total
Youth	23%	(26)	55%	(31)	19%	(60)	62%	(169)
Middle Age	20%	(64)	56%	(61)	21%	(248)	60%	(344)
Elderly	41%	(22)	63%	(35)	31%	(144)	64%	(181)

Source: Margaret M. Braungart, Richard G. Braungart and William J. Hoyer, "Age, Sex, and Social Factors in Fear of Crime," *Sociological Focus* 13 (1) 1980, 60.

TABLE 20

Percentage Fearful by Age, Sex, and Marital Status

	Married			
Age Group	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Total**
Youth	17%	(86)	63%	(118)
Middle Age	19%	(248)	57%	(312)
Elderly	29%	(119)	50%	(88)
	Widowed			
	Male	**Total**	**Female**	**Total**
Youth	—	—	100%	(1)
Middle Age	0%	(4)	73%	(35)
Elderly	37%	(34)	72%	(106)
	Separated / Divorced			
	Male	**Total**	**Female**	**Total**
Youth	25%	(8)	48%	(23)
Middle Age	17%	(35)	57%	(53)
Elderly	33%	(15)	85%	(13)
	Never Married			
	Male	**Total**	**Female**	**Total**
Youth	21%	(92)	59%	(59)
Middle Age	40%	(25)	86%	(14)
Elderly	80%	(5)	80%	(10)

Source: Margaret M. Braungart, Richard G. Braungart and William J. Hoyer, "Age, Sex, and Social Factors in Fear of Crime," *Sociological Focus 13 (1) 1980, 60.*

TABLE 21

Percentage Fearful by Age, Sex, and Living Arrangements

	LIVING ARRANGEMENTS							
	Alone				Living With Others			
Age Group	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Total**
Youth	32%	(19)	59%	(17)	18%	(167)	61%	(183)
Middle Age	29%	(35)	76%	(21)	20%	(277)	58%	(383)
Elderly	43%	(40)	73%	(101)	29%	(126)	56%	(116)

Source: Margaret M. Braungart, Richard G. Braungart and William J. Hoyer, "Age, Sex, and Social Factors in Fear of Crime," *Sociological Focus 13 (1) 1980, 61.*

TABLE 22

Percentage Fearful by Age, Sex, and Race

	RACE							
	White				Black			
Age Group	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Total**
Youth	21%	(168)	64%	(178)	6%	(17)	38%	(21)
Middle Age	20%	(279)	58%	(375)	28%	(29)	79%	(28)
Elderly	29%	(149)	63%	(201)	59%	(17)	81%	(16)

Source: Margaret M. Braungart, Richard G. Braungart and William J. Hoyer, "Age, Sex, and Social Factors in Fear of Crime," *Sociological Focus 13 (1) 1980, 61.*

TABLE 23

Mean Fear, Perceived Risk, and Perceived Seriousness of 16 Offenses Among Seattle Respondents

Offense Description	Fear		Perceived Risk		Perceived Seriousness	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
1. Having someone break into your home while you are away	5.86	1	4.50	2	7.20	8
2. Being raped*	5.62	2	2.51	11	9.33	2
3. Being hit by drunken driver while driving your car	5.11	3	3.57	6	7.66	5
4. Having someone break into your home while you're home	4.49	4	2.72	8	7.72	4
5. Having something taken from you by force	4.05	5	2.61	9	7.48	7
6. Having strangers loiter near your home late at night	4.02	6	3.83	5	4.35	13
7. Being threatened with a knife, club or gun	4.00	7	2.57	10	8.25	3
8. Having a group of juveniles disturb the peace near your home	3.80	8	4.25	3	4.30	14
9. Being beaten up by a stranger	3.59	9	2.12	14	7.63	6
10. Being murdered	3.39	10	1.29	15	9.66	1
11. Having your car stolen	3.35	11	2.72	8	5.77	10
12. Being cheated or conned out of your money	2.50	12	2.16	13	5.55	11
13. Being approached by people begging for money	2.19	13	6.73	1	2.15	16
14. Receiving an obscene phone call	2.07	14	3.87	4	3.18	15
15. Being sold contaminated food	1.96	15	2.24	12	5.53	12
16. Being beaten up by someone you know	1.04	16	.83	16	6.17	9

*female respondents only

Adapted From: Mark Warr and Mark Stafford, "Fear of Victimization: a look at the Proximate Causes." *Social Forces* 61 (4) 1983, 1036.

TABLE 24

Arrests and Arrest Rates (per 100,000) for Various Offenses by Age of Offender, United States, 1980

Offense Category	Age Categories									
	0-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60-64	65+	All Ages
Murder & Non-Neg. Manslaughter	10 (0.0)	190 (1.0)	4,018 (19.0)	4,698 (22.0)	5,884 (15.9)	2,534 (9.9)	1,500 (4.4)	201 (2.0)	248 (1.0)	18,745 (8.3)
Forcible Rape	37 (0.1)	1,015 (5.6)	6,622 (31.3)	8,201 (38.5)	8,888 (24.0)	3,184 (12.4)	1,269 (3.7)	108 (1.1)	107 (0.4)	29,431 (13.0)
Robbery	321 (1.0)	9,620 (52.7)	54,814 (259.0)	37,115 (174.1)	29,068 (78.4)	6,183 (24.1)	2,034 (5.9)	170 (1.7)	151 (0.6)	139,476 (61.6)
Agg. Assault	684 (2.1)	9,304 (51.0)	53,807 (254.3)	62,898 (295.1)	75,187 (202.8)	32,701 (127.6)	19,399 (56.4)	2,317 (23.0)	2,424 (9.5)	258,721 (114.2)
Burglary	6,396 (19.4)	67,031 (367.5)	218,174 (1,031.0)	97,320 (456.6)	67,806 (182.9)	15,536 (60.6)	6,298 (18.3)	551 (5.5)	527 (2.1)	479,639 (211.8)
Larceny/Theft	17,218 (52.1)	150,635 (825.8)	396,147 (1,872.0)	210,267 (986.6)	198,430 (535.2)	73,231 (285.7)	55,464 (161.2)	9,574 (94.9)	12,857 (30.3)	1,123,823 (496.2)
Motor Vehicle Theft	266 (0.8)	14,156 (77.6)	63,517 (300.2)	25,528 (119.8)	18,758 (50.6)	5,151 (20.1)	2,105 (6.1)	138 (1.4)	164 (0.6)	129,783 (57.3)
Arson	1,327 (4.0)	3,370 (18.5)	5,223 (24.7)	3,071 (14.4)	3,019 (8.1)	1,373 (5.4)	879 (2.6)	113 (1.1)	84 (0.3)	18,459 (8.2)
Violent Crime Total	1,052 (3.2)	20,129 (110.4)	118,723 (561.0)	112,912 (529.8)	119,027 (321.0)	44,602 (174.0)	24,202 (70.3)	2,796 (27.7)	2,930 (11.5)	446,373 (197.1)
Property Crime Total	25,207 (76.3)	235,192 (1,289.4)	683,061 (3,227.8)	336,186 (1,577.4)	288,013 (776.9)	95,291 (371.8)	64,746 (188.2)	10,376 (102.9)	13,632 (53.4)	1,751,704 (773.4)
Other Arrests	28,829 (87.3)	293,518 (1,609.1)	1,785,103 (8,435.6)	1,811,479 (8,499.6)	1,890,885 (5,100.1)	861,531 (3,360.9)	685,924 (1,935.2)	90,512 (897.4)	77,423 (303.1)	7,505,104 (3,313.4)
All Arrests	55,088 (166.7)	548,839 (3,008.8)	2,586,887 (12,224.4)	2,260,577 (10,606.8)	2,297,925 (6,197.9)	1,001,324 (3,906.7)	754,872 (2,193.7)	103,684 (1,028.0)	93,905 (367.9)	9,703,181 (4,283.9)

Source: William Wilbanks, "The Elderly Offender: Placing the Problem in Perspective," a paper presented at the 2nd annual Elderly Offender Conference, Florida International University, Miami, Florida, 1983.

TABLE 25

Arrests by Type of Crime in the United States, Total and Older Persons for 1980

Type of Offense	Total Arrests		Aged 65 or Over	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Murder, non-neg. ms.	18,745	0.22	248	0.36
Forcible rape	29,431	0.35	107	0.16
Robbery	134,476	1.60	151	0.22
Aggravated Assault	258,721	3.06	2,424	3.54
Burglary	479,639	0.57	527	0.77
Larceny	1,123,823	13.31	12,857	18.77
Auto Theft	129,783	1.54	164	0.24
Arson	18,459	0.22	61	0.09
Other assaults	456,887	5.41	3,014	4.40
Forgery	72,643	0.86	169	0.25
Fraud	261,787	3.10	1,447	2.11
Embezzlement	7,885	0.09	26	0.03
Stolen Property	115,514	0.14	340	0.50
Vandalism	233,857	2.77	582	0.85
Weapons	157,157	1.86	1,510	2.21
Prostitution	85,815	1.02	331	0.48
Other sex offenses	63,453	0.75	917	1.34
Drugs	533,010	6.31	691	1.01
Gambling	46,697	0.55	2,287	3.34
Family offenses	49,991	0.59	185	0.27
Driving while intoxicated	1,303,933	15.44	19,761	28.86
Liquor laws	427,829	5.07	2,157	3.15
Disorderly conduct	1,049,614	12.43	25,513	37.26
Vagrancy	29,348	0.35	320	0.47
All other offenses	1,658,738	19.64	11,538	16.85
Suspicion	16,241	0.19	63	0.01
TOTALS	**8,443,266**	**100.00**	**68,472**	**100.00**

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States*, 1981 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office) adapted from data on pp. 200-201.

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